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The Week.

THE Presidential trouble has made no progress since last week. The only move of importance has been an "opinion" from "Acting Attorney-General Binckley," justifying General Sickles's removal. It is not worth making a summary of, as nobody believes that it furnishes the real reason of Mr. Johnson's course, and Mr. Binckley's standing as a lawyer is not such as to render his "opinions" of much value in themselves. Mr. Johnson has shaped out for himself a certain course with reference to the whole Radical party and its policy, which he would doubtless pursue on grounds of expediency or from personal feeling if there were no Attorney-General in existence. The "opinions" that he produces from time to time are pleasing little forms, intended to conciliate or satisfy the more weak-minded portion of the public.

Mr. Johnson has issued another proclamation in which he delivers a ludicrously solemn homily on the sanctity of the Constitution and the laws, cites the provision of the Constitution which authorizes the President to employ the land and naval forces for the faithful execution of the laws whenever it shall, in the judgment of the President, become impracticable to enforce them by the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, "by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, or rebellions against the government"—and naturally applies all this to General Sickles in South Carolina, calling him an "impediment and obstruction of a serious character;" calls on the people to obey the laws and testify their devotion to the country, and warns Sickles and all others from "hindering or obstructing" any more. Mr. Johnson has done many odd things, but this is perhaps the oddest—is, in fact, too odd to be amusing. The composition bears all the marks of the now famous Binckley's hand, and it is quite evident that if he is allowed to go on much further, he will, to use his own thrilling language, "grasp the heart-strings of public order." We shall only say that we think this last performance will furnish Congress, when it meets, with abundant reason for considering seriously whether Mr. Johnson's mental condition is such as to render it safe to leave him any longer in possession of his office.

It has been suggested to us as a reason why General Grant should remain in the War Department, even if his position does seem a false one, that his presence there prevents the passage of an enormous number of fraudulent "claims," with which hundreds of speculators stand ready, waiting for the committal of the department to the hands of somebody whom they can manage. There is doubtless something in this, and it is comforting to think that, by the terms of the Tenure of Office Act, General Grant can not be displaced till Congress meets. We are satisfied that he has done all that he has done from the best of motives; and that he is determined not to yield an inch of his legal authority is apparent from his order forbidding the restoration to office of persons already dismissed in the departments of the South.

"Acting Attorney-General" Binckley says, at the close of his opinion, that for "the sole executive to suffer the judiciary to be overthrown, would be practically to overthrow himself," and he adds "that contempt of law indulged speedily grasps at the heart-strings of public order. So teaches history." Mr. Binckley must have experienced sensible relief after cleansing his bosom of such perilous stuff as this. According to the well-informed correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser*, Mr. Binckley is an adventurer whose connection with the Government and intimacy with the President indicate such demoralization at the White House as was not surpassed in the days of Pierce and Buchanan, and hardly when Jackson was deep in the Texas conspiracy.

Many Republican leaders are so far wincing under the Democratic attacks on the national credit as to express willingness to have the United States bonds made subject to State taxation. They of course acknowledge the right of the present holders to exemption, but propose a fresh issue, to be given in exchange for the bonds now outstanding. We have as yet seen no plan, however, for arranging the rate of exchange. A national bond subject to State taxation would be an article of very inferior market value to one not so subject; and on what terms ought a holder of the latter to be compelled to take the former instead? Ought he to be compelled at all? Would not good faith require that he be presented with the option of being paid off, if he does not like the conversion? For those who propose to engage in the business of tinkering the national debt, *obsta principiis* would be a very good motto—and no Congressman will think the worse of it for being expressed in a learned tongue.

The fact, which is now no secret, that Chief-Justice Chase is the favorite candidate of the Radicals for the Presidency, has, during the last week or two, led to a pleasant and edifying discussion in the newspapers regarding the amount of that gentleman's income, which some of the Democratic organs represented as something fabulous. The result was that he made known the exact amount of his fortune, or, strictly speaking, offered to "sell out" to anybody who would agree to pay his debts for the round sum of one hundred thousand dollars. His slanderers have thus been silenced, but we have no doubt that most thoughtful men will agree with us when we say that an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the chief-justice, or, in fact, any judge of the Supreme Court, from ever holding any other office in government, would be a national gain. We will go further, and say that all the good Chief-Justice Chase has done by his political services since his accession to the bench has been very dearly bought by the manner in which it has been necessary for him to render them. We trust, too, that the mental constitution which makes the holder of such a position as the chief-justiceship of the United States—we know of no other equal to it in the world—long for one which an Andrew Johnson can win and fill, is singular and rare, and will long continue to be so.

The canvass in Ohio is calling out some really excellent speaking, more argumentative than has been heard from the stump since the days of the free-soil agitation. Senator Morton and Mr. Shellabarger have both, during the past week, delivered addresses which—with, of course, a fair amount of rhetorical defects—were exceedingly powerful; and perhaps what is most gratifying in them is the loftiness of the motives to which they appeal. This contrast in tone with the speeches of the leading Democrats is striking enough to make one who knew nothing of the circumstances doubt whether they could be all addressed to the same community. If anybody will take the trouble to run through Morton's and Pendleton's, for instance, he will find Morton constantly appealing to the popular sense of honor, love of country, regard for its fair fame, self-respect, love of justice and of equality, humanity, readiness for self-sacrifice, and so on through the whole range of generous passions, while Pendleton appeals as constantly to self-interest in its very lowest form, and talks throughout as if such a thing as a man's doing a thing that caused him loss or discomfort had never been heard of. We think that even Thomas Carlyle would not despair of democracy if he could be made acquainted with the nature of the arguments with which that to him lowest of all animals—the stump-orator—here seeks to persuade the majority of the Northern people.

The remarkable identity of the views expressed in the recent article in THE NATION on the "Judiciary" and those subsequently set forth in the report of the Committee on the Judiciary in the sitting Constitutional Convention of New York, renders it proper to say that the writer of these articles has held no intercourse directly or indirectly with the committee or any member thereof, and was in absolute ignorance of the conclusions at which those gentlemen had arrived. The common conclusion was reached without consultation by a separate contemplation of the existing evils to be reached and impediments to be overcome. Yet it must be regarded as a very great blot upon the report of the majority that the city of New York is left as an independent elective judicial district, that the needless and ridiculous multiplicity of local courts is allowed to disturb the unity and harmony that might and should exist in each judicial department, and that the strength and dignity of the General Terms are not made secure and certain. It is also suggested that a recent dangerous and degrading statute which allows a justice of the Supreme Court to sit as a referee of his own tribunal, and to receive private pay from suitors as an inferior officer of his own court, be for ever stricken out of the laws of New York, and that the time and services of judges who hold office to the age of seventy be declared to belong wholly and exclusively to the public. A more pernicious means for covert bribery than this statute presents, no enemy to the judiciary ever devised. Its apology was the niggardly salaries paid to the judges, but its authors forgot that justice should be absolutely free, and, indeed, that the whole system of privately-feed referees should be cut up root and branch.

There appears to be an emigrational movement from some of the more Southern States into Maryland. It is an accession which, in its influence on politics, is likely to be welcome to the reactionists who already control the State. A writer in the *Louisville Journal* invites a similar emigration, not to Kentucky nor yet to Brazil, but to California. In that land he himself sought refuge after serving in the Confederate army, and the "situation" of the South seems to him to resolve itself into a general "*saute qui peut*." The first attraction of the Pacific Coast is, that "the negro is not there;" the second that "it will produce more breadstuffs, wine, brandy, and whiskey than any State in the Union, and there is no reason why its liquors should not be the best of their kind." Except for the absence of the negro, this should be the paradise of the Democracy. But perhaps Mr. Nasby could make shift with the Chinaman, who "refuses suffrage and office." At all events, let it not be written for nothing that "a few thousand Conservative [ex-rebel] emigrants can fix the political status in California on a solid basis." This is an end worthy the toil of escaping from military despotism. We are not sanguine, however, of the result. In the early settlement of California the experiment was tried. The South was nearer that territory than the North, and the roughest elements of the

Democratic party joined her chivalry in the quest for gold. Brutality, crime, violence, lawlessness grew, held sway for several years, culminated, and then succumbed, while California rose as a free State. It is too late to reverse this decision; and the only good to be accomplished now by an exodus thither from the South, is to make room for honest, more industrious, and more loyal citizens, and to facilitate reconstruction.

We find in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, one of the ablest and most respectable papers of the West, the following pleasing announcement in a prominent position and on the first page:

"THE JONES-McCOOLE EXCURSION.

"TIME AND PLACE OF DEPARTURE.—All persons holding tickets or badges for the McCool-Jones excursion, are notified to be at the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton depot at two o'clock, Saturday morning. Positively no tickets or badges will be sold at the train."

The "Jones-McCoole Excursion" was an excursion to witness a "set-to" between two of the greatest ruffians in the United States. A large train was furnished for the purpose by the obliging and gentlemanly president of the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton Railroad, and all the principal papers sent reporters. Under this sort of encouragement, as might be expected, "the ring" is rapidly becoming naturalized in this country, and we shall probably before long have to number it amongst our "institutions." It is, of course, of English origin; but its principal professors on this side of the water so far have been gentlemen of the Fenian persuasion, among whom it seems to occupy a rank somewhat similar to shooting and wrestling matches amongst the Germans. If the amusement is a respectable and established one, we recommend that our "chief magistrate" be invited to be present at the coming "mill" between "Jim Elliott" and "Mick McCoole."

The approaching visit of Charles Dickens is creating a discussion as to the manner in which he should be received, which shows that some of the foibles which he ridiculed are not entirely extinct. The greater portion of the press treats the matter in a very sensible and dignified way, but here and there we light on an "exposure" of Dickens's libels on the American nation in "Martin Chuzzlewit," suggesting the inference that he ought in some way to receive special marks of public displeasure, now that he is coming out a second time. We hope sincerely that if he should be run after, toadied, and caressed as he was on his last visit, he will write another libel worse than the first one. When a whole people go half-crazy over "a man of genius," the man of genius would be almost more than human if he did not make fun of them and abuse them. No such demonstrations are, of course, now probable, because the whole community has since then grown in good sense and self-respect; and we advise everybody who wants to hear Mr. Dickens to pay his money and do so, and those to whom Mr. Dickens is specially commended, or on whom he has special claims, to treat him politely, and every one else to let him alone. We may add that it is very unlikely that he will be able, during his stay here, to find time to give written advice to young women on their marriage, or on the cultivation of their minds—a task which "men of genius" are only too frequently called on to perform.

Dr. Lieber has addressed a memorial to the Constitutional Convention of this State recommending the abolition of the rule requiring unanimity in jury trials—showing that it is not required in any country in which the jury is in use except England and the United States. The French, German, and Italian rule, he says, is that if there are seven jurors against five, the judges retire, and if the bench decides with the minority the verdict of the minority is taken, while it requires eight jurors out of the twelve to give a majority verdict. This plan he condemns, as opposed to our theory of the judge's position, which is that of an umpire. He proposes that the jury shall consist of twelve jurors, but that a majority of two-thirds shall be competent to give a verdict. We would suggest a change similar in principle, which would probably be more consonant with the popular taste or prejudice. The feeling in favor of having at least twelve men give the verdict has no doubt come down from the time when jurors were quasi-witnesses, and when it was felt not fair to punish a man unless at least twelve good

and true men thought him guilty; but, whatever its origin, it is deeply rooted. Why not defer to it, by putting eighteen men on the jury, and making twelve necessary to a verdict?

The appearance of the yellow fever in New Orleans with great virulence proves what military rule did for the city during the war. It has no sooner been committed to what are called "the municipal authorities" than the old plague reappears. The outbreak will hardly displease the Secessionists, however, as the victims are, of course, mainly Northerners.

The Cable informs us that Lord Stanley proposed in May last to submit the Alabama claims to arbitration if the commission claims of British subjects for loss and damage during the late war were submitted to the same tribunal. The Washington correspondent of the *Boston Advertiser* indirectly confirms this story, by alleging that no communications on this subject have passed between Mr. Seward and the English minister for several months. This might, of course, mean since last May. The probabilities are that Mr. Seward will let the matter lie for an indefinite period; but there is probably no truth in the story that the existence of this negotiation will exercise any influence on his position in the cabinet. His staying in or going out will probably depend entirely on the exigencies of Mr. Johnson's home policy.

The English reformers are now pressing for the ballot as the complement of the late extension of the suffrage. They say that only through it can the new voters be protected against intimidation and corruption; but it is doubtful whether they can be protected even in this way. There are plenty of means, as everybody here knows, of learning how a man votes even with the ballot. The real obstacle to electoral purity in England is not the open voting, but the anxiety of men newly enriched to secure seats in the House of Commons as a means of acquiring social position for themselves and their wives, and the enormous power which the great land-owners possess over the comfort and prosperity of everybody living on their estates. They can, anywhere out of the large towns, ruin a shop-keeper or artisan, or drive a laborer to the workhouse, and as long as this is possible it is folly to suppose that furnishing a man with the means of concealing how he votes will materially help him. In the great towns the ballot would undoubtedly be a protection for workmen against employers, and it might render rich candidates more cautious in their expenditure, but the evil lies after all in the constitution of English society, and this will only change slowly even with a reformed Parliament.

Everything we hear from England tends to confirm the view we took last week of the political significance of Queen Victoria's story of her married life. The wretched scandal which has been for some time in circulation about a personage known as "John Brown of Scotland," a favorite servant of Prince Albert, has at last found expression in an outrageous cartoon, in an illustrated comic paper called *The Tomahawk*, representing Brown standing beside the throne, with the Queen on it, with a pleasant smile on his face, and the British lion looking up at him tenderly and affectionately. To the Queen Brown is, of course, simply a relic of the Prince—like a horse or a dog; but she retains him about her, and treats him with a familiarity which, towards persons of his position—that of a groom—is very unusual, and to English conventional feelings rather shocking. Landseer has been employed to paint "The Widowed Queen," in which Brown figures full length. Now, the imprudence of all this only excites regret amongst the upper classes, and if it elicits any remarks at all, elicits it in very respectful and even pitying language. But the rank and file are not likely to be affected by it in this way. Nothing can be more dangerous, just as the working-classes are entering on the political arena, than to have the monarch held up to them as an utterly inconsolable widow, who, five years after her husband's death, devotes her whole time and attention to the invention of new marks of respect for his memory. Moreover, the picture drawn in the Prince's memoir of the life led by the royal pair will set many a poor man asking what they did to merit so much of the happiness which this world has at its disposal; and,

behind this, the question of the use of a monarch at all will, we may be sure, follow closely. Unless we are greatly mistaken, England is on the eve of very great changes, of which this generation will probably not see the end, and of which the peculiar position in which the royal family is placing itself is probably one of the first indications.

One of the most extraordinary charges of literary or artistic fraud ever made is now under discussion in England. Sir Charles Barry, as everybody knows, was the architect of the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. He was knighted for his services, and made fame and fortune out of them, and is dead. Now come the sons of Mr. Pugin, perhaps in his day the first Gothic architect in the world, and offer to prove from their father's journal and other documents that their father did all the work for the building for Sir Charles for the small sum of £400, while Sir Charles took all the credit of it before the world.

The German States begin to find the Prussian yoke in some ways a heavy one. The little Duchy of Saxe-Coburg made an agreement with Prussia some years ago to give her its military contingent to the federal force, and paid her \$60 a man for its support; now the Duchy has to pay nearly \$140 a man. Others pay a still greater increase. One of the most striking features of the revolution is the working of the federal universal suffrage, on which Bismark has insisted. In the old Prussian provinces, where the great landed proprietors and the civil functionaries still exercise great influence, the conservatives carry the day. In the new annexations, the general dislike of the new master has caused the old conservatives to unite with the radicals for the purpose of testifying their hostility to the government. In the South German States the governments have refrained from exercising any influence whatever on the voting, and local feelings or interests have generally decided the election. One incident is both interesting and, to us in America just now, very instructive. In Mecklenburg, society is still in a condition bordering on pure feudalism. The peasants are still retained in a sort of serfdom, and know nothing and care nothing about questions of general politics. But, curiously enough, they managed to find out which candidates were most disagreeable to their lords, and accordingly cast their votes in a solid mass for the radicals. We are likely to witness a very similar result amongst the negroes at the South.

Things are not going well in Hungary, in spite of the convention and the restoration of the constitution. The intense anti-Austrian feeling of the radicals again begins to show itself. General Perczel has been elected to the Diet immediately after delivering a violent tirade against the Austrians at Pesth, and General Türr has declared himself against the ministry in a strong circular. The probabilities are that the ministry will resign. It has apparently no policy except the revival of the honveds, or national militia, and an alliance with France so as to keep out the Russians. But an alliance with France would be of very little value for any such purpose. If Russia should again make a movement against Hungary, it would be as a piece of Panslavish propaganda, and would have the support of the Slavonic population of the Austrian Empire, and against this the Magyars would be powerless.

It is now officially announced by the Turkish Government that the Cretan war is at an end. We are not at all surprised to hear this news. The wonder is that the Cretans were able to keep up so long the delusion that they were succeeding. They never had the ghost of a chance, unless they secured the aid of some Western power—not even if they had secured the active co-operation of the kingdom of Greece. Turkey is not a very powerful antagonist, but she has a regular army of considerable strength, arsenals, a treasury and a navy; and the attempt of a few thousand mountaineers to make head against a power of this kind must in our day fail. The risk of foreign interference which the Porte has run all through the Cretan trouble, combined with the Sultan's visit to Christendom, will doubtless now lead to some real reforms in the Turkish government; but we confess we have little expectation that they can or will be carried out with any such instrumentality as the Sultan has at command.

Notes.

LITERARY.

MESSRS. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. have in press "Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time," by John F. Watson, in two volumes 8vo, illustrated, designed among other things to "exhibit the city and country in their local changes and improvements;" "A Sunday Library for Household Reading," prepared by eminent American and English divines, illustrated; "The Restoration at the Second Coming of Christ," by Henry A. Riley, being a summary of millenarian doctrines; "Fighting the Flames," a tale of the London Fire Brigade, by R. M. Ballantyne, illustrated; "Beatrice Boville, and Other Stories," by "Ouida;" and Bulwer's "Devereux," Globe edition.—Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. announce for this month, "The Wit and Wisdom of Don Quixote," a selection of the choicest proverbs and witticisms of that great work; "The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures," by T. F. Curtis, D.D., containing a synopsis and review of all the chief modern theories of inspiration extant; Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Biology," Volume II.; "Home Life: A Journal," by Elizabeth A. Sewell; a new edition of "The Iron Manufacture of Great Britain," by the late Mr. Truran; a new edition of "The Foreign Tour of Messrs. Brown, Jones, and Robinson;" "A New System of Infantry Tactics," by Brevet Major-Gen. Emory Upton, U.S.A.; and "The Daughter of an Empress," by Louisa Mühlbach, a novel pertaining to Russia. This is the ninth on the list of this writer's works as published by the above house, who have paid her one thousand dollars for the privilege.—Messrs. Leypoldt & Holt are to publish another tale of the year '13—"Le Conscriit de 1813," by Erekman-Chatrian; a series of modern French plays, beginning with "Jean Baudry," by M. Vacquerie; a "Guide to French Conversation," by C. and W. Witcomb; "Easy French Reading;" "La Littérature Française Classique" and "Contemporaine," the former being lectures by Edouard Mennedvet; "Landmarks of History—Modern, and Middle Ages," by Miss Yonge; an Anglo-Saxon manual for beginners, by Professor S. M. Shute, combining a grammar, reader, and glossary; and Professor Corson's "Thesaurus of Archaic English," of which the subscription has so long been pending, to be issued in five numbers.

—Nowhere out of India, we fancy, could a parallel be found for the voluntary torture submitted to by the Mandan Indians in their religious ceremony called O-kee-pa, as described, with illustrations, by Mr. George Catlin in his latest book. It was a religious performance in which the young men who wished to be graduated as warriors were hung up in the lodge of the medicine-men by the muscles of the neck or breast, great weights of shields and buffalo skulls dangling from the muscles of their arms and legs, and then rotated till they fainted; the final trial being to run a miserable race till the dragging weights were detached from their lacerated wounds. Mr. Catlin witnessed this shocking ordeal in 1832 on the Upper Missouri. Mr. Schoolcraft doubted, but other travellers have corroborated, his account. Small-pox and disaster have since exterminated the tribe, and Mr. Catlin's narrative will probably cause little regret for their disappearance, although they are represented as friendly and hospitable, and could boast that they had never killed a white man. The history of superstition, however, would be incomplete without the revolting chapter which we have barely sketched.

—The best statement we have ever seen not only of the theoretical but of the practical workings of the joint education of the sexes is contained in a paper read in July by President Fairchild, of Oberlin College, to a convention of college presidents at Springfield, Illinois, and reprinted in *The Illinois Teacher* for August. No person, probably, could speak with more knowledge of the actual results of the system inaugurated at Oberlin, inasmuch as the president began as a pupil at the very opening of the college, and has had experience as a teacher in three quite distinct departments—the ancient languages, mathematics, and metaphysics—besides his present office. He narrates with great moderation and perfect dispassionateness the details of the college system, enumerates its proved advantages, and then investigates the drawbacks which might be supposed inherent in it. His conclusions, we need not say, are highly favorable to the plan pursued. It may still be asked why, if the advantages are or can be made so obvious, after a successful example of thirty-four years the college has not revolutionized the general practice of educating the sexes apart. Readers of Mrs. Dall's last work will find palpable traces of this revolution in the numerous institutions, patterned after Oberlin, which are to be found in the West. They have so far determined the fashion that it is doubtful whether any new State would establish a university for either sex alone; and to them may be principally due the readiness of the Western States to admit women

to political equality, which we are sure involves a revolution in educational methods. To this equality, by the way, Prof. Fairchild intimates that he is by no means friendly, and however little logical his position may be, it enables us to recommend his address to many who would decline reading the arguments of a partisan of "woman's rights."

—The London correspondent of *The Tribune* calls attention to a work little known even in England: "Notes of a Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery in the First Six Books of the *Enéide*," by Dr. James Henry. The author's ability as a commentator has been acknowledged by Mr. Conington, who has profited by it in his recent translation of the same epic. But the most remarkable feature of this persistent study is thus stated by Dr. Henry himself:

"I have been, as the title imports, twelve years, twelve of the fairest years of my life, engaged in this work; encouraged by no one, approved by no one, patronized by no one, receiving no particle of assistance either at home or abroad from any one of all the numerous persons who have, with more or less success, cultivated the same author, except alone the assistance which I have reared and created for myself in my own daughter, who has already, at the age of 22, arrived at such a degree of knowledge of the subject that I have not printed a single comment without first submitting it to her censorship. Many and valuable have been the suggestions I have received from her, although I have not specially stated the fact, except at *Aen. II., 683*," in the note on which he remarks: "I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of informing my readers that the above very new and, it seems to me, very true explanation of this difficult passage was suggested to me by one whose zealous assistance and co-operation has all along not only lightened but rendered delightful to me the otherwise almost intolerable labor of this work—I mean my beloved daughter, Katharine Olivia Henry."

—The most interesting literary announcement from England is, that the present Duke of Wellington is printing the whole body of his father's papers, for safety, not for publication. Everything will be put in type, and those passages which concern living persons too nearly will then be struck out. Three original impressions will be taken and preserved by the duke in three different depositories, of which he will not permit the British Museum to be one.—According to the London *Publishers' Circular*, "Mr. Charles Reade and Mr. Dion Boucicault are writing in conjunction a new serial story, which is to appear in *The Atlantic Monthly* magazine, the proprietors of which are said to have paid for it a larger sum than was ever yet paid by an American periodical to English authors for a story, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Dickens;" and the same authority announces a new monthly magazine to be edited by Mr. Anthony Trollope, and entitled *The New Metropolitan*.—Messrs. Sampson Low, Son & Co. announce for this month a volume on the "Christian Heroes in the Army and Navy," by Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D. Havelock is one, of course; Stonewall Jackson is another; but we leave it for Dr. Rogers to say "of course."

—The Cable informs us of the death of two world-famous men, Dr. Velpau at Paris, and Professor Faraday in England, almost of an age, being seventy-two and seventy-three respectively. By mail we learn of the death of Mrs. Sarah Austin, of heart disease, on the 8th ult., in the seventy-fourth year of her age. Her maiden name was Taylor, and her husband was Mr. John Austin, a barrister, and the author of a work on jurisprudence which has a solid and steadily increasing reputation. The deceased was chiefly known by her translations of German works, and *The Spectator* says of her, without exaggeration, that she was "probably the best translator from German into English ever known in literature." Her literary acquaintances were remarkable, and she held a salon which in some years quite equalled the best French examples.—Mr. Dickens is preceded in his visit to this country by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, whose sympathies during the late rebellion were not, perhaps, different from those of the author of "Martin Chuzzlewit," nor—which is the real grievance—from those of the leading men of letters in England, of whom, from Carlyle to the Poet-Laureate, we had a right to expect better things. Mr. Kingsley's connection with the Eyre defence is another drawback to our holding him in the highest esteem; but that is properly a home affair, and here he will scarcely be reminded of his admiration for Jefferson Davis. *Per contra*, the Rev. Newman Hall, a very able writer, and one of the staunchest adherents of the North in England, has just taken leave of his congregation prior to his departure for the country he has defended. He announced that he should do some pastoral work while here, and reviewed with praise the conduct of our Government in suppressing the rebellion and restoring the Union. His welcome cannot be doubtful. Still another distinguished visitor is Lord Amberly, eldest son of Earl Russell, who certainly comes with a handsome introduction from his father—the international apology at the Garrison banquet.—From Germany we may expect Fanny Janouschek, an actress of merit, who is to make a professional tour in this country from October to April, beginning in this city at the Théâtre Français, under the management

of M. Grau. Herr Hendricks, who in his favorite plays is excelled by no actor in Germany, will also solicit our applause.

—In a late number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is an article by the well-known publicist, Henry Blaze de Bury, entitled "Shakespeare and his Musicians." The writer is closely affiliated with German musicians, and is especially convinced of the musical importance of the "prophet of Munich," Richard Wagner, the composer of "Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin," "Rienzi," etc. He pitilessly exposes the decline of French music, and arraigns it for making of Shakespeare's characters, Goethe's Faust, and Schiller's Carlos inanimate corpses, on which to hang its miserable tatters. He charges the manufacturers of librettos with a "pure stérilité et impuissance," and pities the poor composers who condescend to thresh such straw. Unfortunately, the composers themselves were most to blame, for they sought out-of-the-way ideas and buried them under effect-straining situations, *bravura* pieces, marches, and dancing melodies, agreeable *entr'acte* music, ballets, and masquerades. Gounod is particularly censured as having transformed Gretchen into a Parisian grisette. The unworthiness of his new opera, "Romeo and Juliet," beside the treatment of the same subject by Bellini—to whom, however, the writer is not very favorably inclined either—is dwelt upon. Rossini in his "Othello" had been inspired at least by a spark of Shakespearian genius, but Gounod sacrifices feeling and character in order to make them the hot-beds of his parasitical creations.

—Among standard books of reference we notice in Germany H. Brugsch's "Hieroglyphic and Demotic Dictionary" (Leipzig: F. Klincksieck), which contains in their proper order the most-used words and word-groups of the language and sacred and popular writings of the ancient Egyptians, with their definitions in French, German, and Arabic. The first part has appeared, and there will be twelve in all, costing each about \$5 25 in gold. In France we have the first instalment of Achille Juquin's "Dictionnaire général et raisonné de la Construction, etc." (Paris: E. Lacroix), embracing all that relates to public and private works, and the customs, laws, etc., which regulate them. This will be complete in one hundred parts, at the subscription price of forty francs for the volume. In England another work useful for all builders, and a recognized standard for a quarter of a century, is the new edition of Joseph Gwilt's "Encyclopedia of Architecture" (London: Longmans), edited by Wyatt Paspworth, pp. 1,500, copiously illustrated. Gwilt was a great admirer of the classic models and of the Renaissance. His editor has accordingly had chiefly to add to the treatment of the Gothic, by doing justice to which he has greatly enhanced the value of the dictionary.

—The London *Chronicle* for August 17 has an able review (by Mr. F. J. Furnivall?) of Mr. Morley's "English Writers" (Vol II., Part I., Chaucer to Dunbar. London: Chapman & Hall), in which the final *e* of Chaucer and some obscure passages of the poet are discussed in a most interesting manner. It is gratifying to report a tendency in Germany towards the same studies, for which Mr. Morley deserves so much praise. We may cite in proof the "Specimens of Old English" ("Altenglische Sprachproben") edited by Eduard Mätzner, of which the first volume has reached this country. The second will contain an Old-English-German glossary of the period from the disappearance of the Anglo-Saxon as a literary language to the fifteenth century, occupying about 750 closely printed pages. It will investigate the etymology of words with reference to their Germanic, Scandinavian, and Romanic elements, and indicate inflections where they occur, with their accidental differences. The selections are all preceded by bibliographical introductions which discuss the questions of time, place, and author, as well as the state of the language or dialect. The first part contains thirty-eight pieces, of which we may mention two selections from "Orm," a poem on texts of the New Testament, written in the North of England dialect of the twelfth century; "The Owl and the Nightingale," their dispute about singing, beauty, and life, a poem of the same period as the first, the authorship of which has been attributed by Thomas Wright to Nicholas de Guildford; "Debate of the Body and Soul," accusing each other of misleading to sin, a poem of uncertain age; the "Song against the King of Almaine." This last belongs to a series of political poems in Old-French, Old-English, and the Latin language, and is mockingly directed against the brother of Henry III., Richard, who had in 1257, by means of heavy bribery, been elected King of Germany, and had thereby entangled England in many complications. The song describes the battle of Lewes, in Sussex, fought on the 14th of May, 1264, in which Richard commanded a division, and in which the barons remained victors. Each stanza concludes with the couplet:

"Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,
Trichen shalt thou never more."

The word *trichard* (traitor) probably refers to Richard's having, on his return (1259) from Germany, solemnly sworn to the "Oxford provisions," agreed on between the King and the barons, and containing a confirmation and extension of the Magna Charta, and to the peace, both of which pledges he afterwards broke.

—Dr. August Boeckh died on the 3d ultimo, the birthday anniversary of Frederick William III., and as such the occasion of more than thirty-five brilliant orations from the now departed professor, as he spoke for his colleagues assembled to honor the memory of the founder of the university. On the ensuing Tuesday a long procession followed his remains to the churchyard of St. Dorothy. At its head walked a band of music; behind the hearse, drawn by four horses, followed his family on foot; then came the students in their gear carrying their veiled banners over a velvet cushion on which were laid the orders given him by many courts; next the Rector Magnificus, the representative of the ministry, the senators and deans of the faculties, deputations and friends; and the gala equipages of the King and Crown Prince led a long train of carriages. Boeckh's labors and works are known on both sides of the Atlantic as those of the most notable student of antiquity in our time; anecdotes of him have been, for many student generations, university legends throughout Germany, and both the lay and learned of his folk looked up to him as to their ideal of a German professor. Born in 1785, at Carlsruhe, he studied under the celebrated Frederick August Wolf, in Halle, and became professor in Heidelberg in 1807. At the foundation of the Berlin University, in 1810, he was called to the chair of "Ancient Literature and Eloquence," a position which he held until the celebration of that rare festival, the sixtieth anniversary of his doctorate, in March last. His fellow-townsmen, among whom he had honorably spent his youthful and maturer manhood and his riper age, presented him at his fifty years' doctor-jubilee the freedom of their city—an honor which Boeckh ever declared to be the highest of his distinctions, although he was stated secretary of the philosophical department of the Prussian Academy of Science, member of many societies at home and abroad, knight of high orders of all lands, and even chancellor of the civil order *pour le mérite*. Unlike many of his compeers, he never became so absorbed by his specialty as to exclude thoughts of another life with Kant's query, "Why should I trouble myself with what does not concern me?" but on fit occasions added his testimony to religion. In his oration at the jubilee of the university in 1860, a noble plea for freedom of thought, he said: "Science does not work against the kingdom of God; it rather builds thereon, and has in it its share and place. Yea, I venture to express the thought: Science with its twin sister, Art, is, as imitation of the ideals dwelling in God, a worship of God."

—A long-talked-of permission to receive graduating theses and make examinations in the vernacular has been accorded to the Prussian universities. This change will, of course, remove a great bugbear; it will also take away a great incentive to the study of Latin in the preparatory institutions, and may, on this account, be regretted. A new building is now required for the Berlin University library, as room cannot be found in the present one for the valuable and extensive collection bequeathed it by Professor Boeckh. Another new edifice will be a cathedral church, for which proposals are now invited by the minister of public instruction and religious affairs. Happily the specifications provide for carrying out an old idea of the late King for a *campo santo*, to be ornamented with pictures by Cornelius. The cost of this monument of King William's reign is not to exceed four million thalers (\$2,880,000).

—Professor Gneist has lately published a stout pamphlet on "Die freie Advocatur" (Free Advocacy), which has attracted universal attention and much praise even from the government journals in Prussia. The critics seem to overlook, what the professor certainly did not, that every approval of his arguments is a blow at the judicial system of Prussia; for if every jurist had the option of becoming an advocate, none but the most stupid would be left to fill the almost unremunerated offices of judges.—Another instance of that great drawback on the German book trade, the tardiness of book critics, which leaves a book to become old before it becomes known, is the fact that Freiherr von Hock's work on American finance, reviewed in THE NATION last winter, has just reached an examination in a prominent quarterly devoted to finance and kindred topics. Due credit is accorded the author, one of that ingenious knot of gentlemen who have so long kept Austria from bankruptcy—a feat, by the way, which is not considered much longer possible. Large amounts in Austrian "securities" are held by old Prussian families, and have had quite an influence on the conservative politics; if they are repudiated, the Junkers will go furious. As is well known, the cautious Hollanders have been seduced by the high interest on the same

"securities" to an even greater extent.—A translation of an English pamphlet, "War of the Banks," is rather savagely handled in the journal just referred to. Almost every treatise on politics or finance published in England very speedily finds its way to Germany either as it appears or in German dress. This is due in no small part to the impetus given to English studies in Prussia by the marriage of the Crown Prince with the Princess Helen, and nearly all the younger journalists and literary men read English fluently. On the other hand, new American books very rarely reach Germany till after they have been duly quarantined in England; no one pretends to keep them on hand or to order them direct from the States, and the extra expenses incurred, or at least charged, on their route *via* London are formidable. It is the same with American periodicals, of which, excepting the *New York Weekly Tribune*, none are obtainable in Berlin.—A new edition of Rückert's poems, containing many never before in print, will be published in twelve volumes before the middle of next year. Gelbel, whose earlier effusions, despite their elegant metre, have only found admirers among sentimental school-girls, has been prompted by an aggravated spell of weather to send a charming ode to the sun to the *Cologne Gazette*.—"Sonderlinge: Bragenzerwälder Lebens- und Charakterbilder aus der neuesten Zeit" (Peculiar People: Bragenz forest life and character-pictures of the latest time), by Franz Mich. Felder (2 vols., Hirzel, Leipzig), is a new novel written by an uneducated peasant. Professor Hillebrand, of Leipzig, discovered this uncut diamond and brought about the publication of a book of more than ordinary force and pith. If the sturdy air given by the homely phrases and expressions which in it take the place of elaborate word-painting and rounded periods could be preserved in a translation, it is worth rendering into English.

THE FUTURE OF BRAZIL*

FROM the present year will date two of the most important steps yet taken by Brazil to consolidate its empire, menaced with dismemberment not only from its too bulky territory and its extent of untamed wilderness, but by narrow statecraft, its heterogeneous populations, and the institution of slavery. A few months ago the growth of slavery was definitively checked, and its abolition provided for within a period the half of which will not have passed when every slave will have disappeared. This very month inaugurates the free navigation of the waters of the Amazon and of the chief river of the southern coast by the ships of all nations. These centripetal measures are offset by the aggrandizing war on the River Plate.

What is Brazil? On the map, an area larger than that of the United States. In point of settlement, a strip of country averaging not a hundred miles in depth from the shore to the fastnesses of the interior. Within and beyond, along the great tributaries of the greatest of all American rivers, in the virgin forests from the coast *serra* and *Pará* to the base of the Andes, the savages hold undisputed and undisturbed possession. The gold-hunter, the Jesuit missionary, the kidnapper—Spanish and Portuguese—explorers of every nationality, solitary *savans* and naval expeditions, have traversed from time to time this still unknown region, but have left scarcely a trace of their passage. No roads are practicable through the interior, and the rivers have not yet been used as regular highways of communication with the capital and the seaboard. From Rio de Janeiro to the great inland district of Matto Grosso the official route was by the *Paraná* and the *Paraguay*, through the jurisdiction of a sovereign and now hostile state. Overland, Persia would not be more remote from Paris than are these two points from each other. The expedition to the rear directed by the Brazilians against *Paraguay*, on which the decision of the war is supposed to hang, has been more than a year, if we do not greatly err, in emerging from the jungle and approaching the scene of conflict. Should this prove abortive, Matto Grosso is a Brazilian province only in name—inaccessible for traffic, discipline, or for defence.

This explains why the empire is jealous of the republic, thrust like a wedge between its body and its members. But the provinces south of Rio de Janeiro belong, also, by their situation to the geography of the River Plate, and by climate to the temperate zone instead of to the tropics. In fact, they furnish the northern provinces, including the capital, with most of the cereals consumed there, and most of the beef. The planters who

thus depend upon them devote their vast estates—a natural consequence of the system of slave-labor—to the more profitable products of the tropics, coffee, tea, sugar, etc., and import grain even from the Black Sea rather than grow it for themselves. This commercial connection with S. Paulo, *Paraná*, and Rio Grande do Sul would exist even if they were detached from the empire, and is not, therefore, in itself a bond of union. Hence the efforts made to colonize them from the north, and to build up a population strong enough and loyal enough some day to encroach upon and eventually occupy Uruguay, and thus to acquire for Brazil the natural and only secure boundary of the River Plate, and a principal share of its commerce. These motives were sufficient to precipitate the present war for the control of the southern river system, in conjunction with Buenos Ayres.

But other motives were not wanting. The same overgrown estates which will have nothing to do with feeding the people, and pay no taxes to the treasury, even when, as Mr. Fletcher tells of one, they cover eight square leagues, have from the beginning of the century stood in the way of European immigration, and have been the cause first of pitiful disasters to hundreds of German colonists, afterwards of diverting the stream to Uruguay, and latterly to the United States. Mr. Sturz, who is a man of his word, and who fought the land monopoly face to face for upwards of ten years without success, and trusted it would reform for sixteen more, during which he acted at Berlin as Consul-General of Brazil,—Mr. Sturz charges the empire distinctly with seeking, by encouraging sedition and rebellion in Uruguay, so to distract the country as to render it unfit for immigration, and with finally establishing the filibuster Flores as the autocrat of Montevideo, and its own faithful accomplice and servant.

We have thus analyzed the movement of Brazil towards the south, which is fast culminating, because neither Mr. Fletcher nor Mr. Codman, whose works we are more immediately considering, has undertaken to do so, and because, unless this movement is clearly understood, we have little insight into the future of that country. The problem now working out on the Plate is whether Brazil shall hold on the south the mouth and the sources of that river, on the north the mouth of the Amazon and the intervening coast; or, failing in the first particular, whether she will not eventually lose her southern provinces, perhaps in a confederation of which victorious *Paraguay* and rescued Uruguay shall be the extremes, with *Entre Rios* and *Corrientes* plucked not unwillingly from the side of the so-called Argentine Confederation. A defeat now is in all probability a final defeat, compelling Brazil to hold Matto Grosso, if at all, by the good pleasure of *Paraguay*, and to renounce for ever her contention for the sovereignty of the Plate. The adhesion of the southern provinces would then depend upon the ease with which troops could be transported to suppress a rebellion—a task which a steamer navy could probably accomplish for several years to come. But it would also depend on the character of the population at any given time, their numbers, and their relation to the people of the northern provinces. Mr. Codman invented the philanthropic plan of pouring Africa into Tropical Brazil, partly upon the theory that the climate is not to be endured by white men; but he has abandoned the project since the end of slavery is in sight. If, now, the land is made to contribute to the expenses of the Government, and if a land-office like that of the United States should be established and conducted as liberally, there is no reason why the province of Rio de Janeiro first of all should not be filled up from Europe, and be linked to Rio Grande do Sul by its foreign element even more powerfully than by its native. Meantime, by extending its railroads—it already has some of which it may boast for the physical obstacles surmounted and the thoroughness and boldness of their engineering—and by fostering colonies along the Amazon and its affluents, the empire would begin to resemble a well-fenced timber-plot, with convenient radiations to the heart of the wilderness, which it could subdue as strength and arms should multiply.

The people who are to preserve the national domain intact, if they can on these conditions, are fairly portrayed in the voluminous but readable work of Messrs. Fletcher and Kidder. Mr. Codman's experience, which, in point of space and time, was greatly inferior to theirs, is not valueless, however, as a corrective. Their weakness is that of missionaries who are bound to defend their chosen field; his is that of a man who detests, with Mr. Carlyle, the "nomadic service" of hired Africans, and who is touched with pity by a raw-backed mule that, converted into a well-flogged slave, would only receive from him an additional stripe. Mr. Codman, again, sees no future for Brazil. Mr. Fletcher not only sees a bright one very near—too near, we dare say—but actually proves that Brazil is advancing, not declining, in civilization. Almost every addition he has made to each successive edition of his book, notes some important improvement: the streets of Rio are lighted with gas, they are well paved, they are drained; he had known them when they were not.

* "Brazil and the Brazilians, portrayed in historical and descriptive sketches. By Rev. James C. Fletcher and Rev. D. P. Kidder, D.D." Illustrated. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1866. 8vo, pp. viii., 640.

"Ten Months in Brazil, with incidents of voyages and travels, descriptions of scenery and character, notices of commerce and productions, etc. By John Codman." Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1867. 12mo, pp. 298.

"Les Dissensions des Républiques de la Plata et les Machinations du Brésil." Paris: E. Dentu. 1865. 8vo, pp. 87.

"Circular addressed to the Governors of all the States and Territories of the Union. By J. J. Sturz." New York, Nov. 11, 1866.

These are samples, only, but they palliate Mr. Fletcher's optimism. For the rest, he sees pretty much what other travellers have seen, what Mr. Codman himself saw, and (except in political matters) does not conceal or keep silent about the loose morals and utterly debased religion of the Brazilians. He is not so concise as Mr. Codman, and may bring some evils into less relief than the latter does—especially one very shocking instance of slave-breeding, which it must have pained Mr. Codman to relate without crediting it to an F. F. V.

In regard to the Emperor, Mr. Fletcher's testimony is highly flattering, but by no means unsupported. What can be done by the ruler of a very limited monarchy by way of example, Dom Pedro II. appears to do, and do creditably. He seems, also, to have a genuine regard for the United States, and to welcome our arts as he does our literature. There is evidently nothing small about his character, while there is much in it to admire. His attainments, both literary and scientific, are more than respectable, and his amiability cannot be doubted. He probably far transcends many of the state ceremonies which he feels constrained to celebrate according to custom, and he is at least not behind his people in religious toleration. That he has left himself to the war with Paraguay any further than, as the chief of the executive, to declare it, and to take the field for a time in person, we do not learn. The reputation of Lopez as a tyrant towards his own countrymen and a bully towards neighboring powers, might deceive ambition into fancying itself virtue for trying to overthrow him; but we can hardly imagine Dom Pedro ignoring the vital connection between the independence of Uruguay and the prosperity, not to say existence and independence also, of Paraguay, or the fact that the apparent aggressiveness of the latter is in reality but self-defence, however barbarously (as is alleged) and illegally exercised. On the other hand, it is quite probable that the Emperor may console himself for the loss and scant honor of the struggle with a foe whose insignificance on the map is as much a misrepresentation as Brazil's importance, by reflecting that the war is hastening the decay of slavery (notably by manumission for military service), and will probably involve the taxation of landed property, to which no slaveholding class has ever willingly consented. In this sense the national debt would be "a national blessing."

Mr. Codman is very urgent that our misguided brethren of the South—or is that phrase too harsh for him?—should not obey their impulse to flee from Yankee despotism to the Brazilian paradise. His solicitude is at once just and humane; but nobody else but the Southerners themselves need be told that they are the last people to make the experiment of colonization in Brazil. All the rose color which is imputed by Mr. Codman to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher would not deceive the general reader on that score. The soil, the mill-inviting streams, the timber, the minerals, all resources and all spontaneous growths, contain fortunes for those only who are not afraid of hardships and of labor, and men, too, like the Pilgrims, whom "small things cannot discourage." The capacity of the country, its magnificent range of climate and productions—sometimes abruptly from the tropics to the temperate zones, on account of sudden elevation—its wonderful scenery, can hardly be exaggerated. For trustworthy details in this regard, as well as for more or less intimate descriptions of the chief cities from Rio to Pará, we refer to the narrative of Messrs. Fletcher and Kidder, believing that, with every allowance which the prudent reader may desire to make, there will remain a conviction of the vast field for Anglo-Saxon enterprise in all parts of the empire, and of the desirableness of a closer connection between it and this country. The commercial statistics will interest every merchant, while not a few tourists may be led to improve the new steamship line which has been subsidized by our Government, and test the comparative beauties of the bays of Rio and of Naples.

PROVERBS OF ALL NATIONS.*

HERR WANDER and his fellow-philologists have really produced an international dictionary of proverbs, since to each German "Sprichwort" is appended in smaller type its synonyms in other languages, chiefly, however, the Dutch and English. These last and the German have invented proverbs apart from each other, but in the same spirit, and have been mutual borrowers. Some idea of the completeness and richness of this work may be formed from the circumstance of its containing, in its first of four volumes, not less than 44,937 German and 14,402 foreign proverbs, or together 59,339. Such a collection from printed sources and from verbal communications which, besides the comparison noted, pre-

serves the origin of the principal proverbs by anecdotes of the incidents which gave rise to them, has never till now existed in the German or any other literature. In its scientific aspect, nearly equal in value to Grimm's German Dictionary, it is also an always fresh source of entertaining reading. The proverbs are grouped after their first principal word, be it a substantive, an adjective, or a verb, and the alphabetical arrangement of these words, of course, facilitates materially the finding of a proverb. The leading word, again, is placed at the head of each article in larger type, and then follow in alphabetical order and numbered the proverbs and the proverbial phrases, the latter of which are marked with an asterisk. The typographical arrangement of the work throughout is clear and neat, and the Latin type has been expressly selected for the purpose of making it better adapted to the use of foreign nations. The sources of the work are, whenever it appears necessary and is possible, given after each respective proverb by an abbreviated denomination, explained in the introduction. Where the same proverb has been expressed or written or printed in a different manner, each material version is given. This is the plan of Herr Wander's work, which treats not only of the proverbial literature of the High-German, Middle-High-German, and Old-German, but of nearly all other European languages, plus the classical. A brief analysis will best show how the author has understood his task.

Taking, for instance, the article "Bettler" (beggar), we find 159 German and 60 foreign proverbs, and selecting number 134 of this article, "Wenn der Bettler auf's Pferd kommt, so kann ihm kein Teufel mehr vorreiten," we have the following corresponding foreign proverbs: Eng.: "Set a beggar on horseback, he'll ride to the devil" (Bohn II., 483). "There is no pride equal to the enriched beggar's" (Bohn II., 70). French: "Il n'est orgueilleux que de pauvre enrichi." Ital.: "Il villan nobilitato non conosce il parentado." Span.: "Mete mendigo en tu pejar, y hacersete ha heredero." Lat.: "Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum" (Claudianus). Under "Blut" (blood) we find 70 German and 28 foreign proverbs. We quote number 42 of this article: "Nur kalt Blut, sagte der Koch zu den Krebsen, als er sie in die siedende Pfanne warf." This would be, literally, "Take it coolly, as the cook said to the crabs when he threw them into the frying-pan." Herr Wander's latitude admits this English proverb as a synonym: "Take it coolly, as the Jew said to the light sovereigns when he was sweating them." Under "Buch" (book) we find, number 17: "Es hat kein Buch so grosse Blätter als das Buch: 'S kann sein.'" Eng.: "The book of may-bes is very broad." The articles "Frau" (wife), "Geld" (money), are the largest, having 770 and 1,420 numbers respectively. In the article "Geld" (money) we find, under number 765, the proverb: "Kein Geld, kein Schweizer;" French: "Point d'argent, point de suisse." The origin of this proverb is not modern, nor caused by the extravagant charges of Swiss hotel-keepers, as might be thought, but historical. When Francis I. of France, at the siege of Mailand by Charles V. in the year 1521, was unable to pay the Swiss soldiers, they went home with the words, "Kein Geld, kein Schweizer," which have since become proverbial; corresponding with it in general idea perhaps would be our proverb: "No money, no go."

The article "Brot" (bread) is a very large one, numbering 410 German and a great many foreign proverbs. Under the head "Existenz" we find Bismark's words, "Catilinarische Existenzen," with which he, in 1863, named the *littérateurs* and spokesmen of the Prussian Liberal party, and which, like his phrase, "Blut und Eisen," as a last remedy for the state, became proverbial. Under this article we find some other sayings of Prussian ministers: Manteuffel's, which he spoke, yielding, in 1852, at Olmütz to Austrian superiority, "Der Starke weicht muthig zurück" (The strong man courageously retreats); Von Rochow's, "Der Unterthanenverstand ist beschränkt" (The reason of subjects is limited); Count Schulenburg's, spoken at Berlin in 1806, when the French army was expected, after the battle of Jena, "Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht" (Quietness is the first duty of a citizen); Hansemann's, the founder of the Zollverein, and Prussian Minister of Finance, "In Geldsachen hört die Gemüthlichkeit auf" (In money matters good-heartedness is at an end); and the word of a Prussian prince, in 1849, who is now ruler of Prussia, "Gegen Demokraten helfen nur Soldaten" (Soldiers are the only remedy for democrats). All these words are now current proverbial sayings, used in an ironical sense in Germany. That the author has embodied these and a great many others bears testimony to the unflinching perseverance and industry with which he constantly draws from the current of contemporary public life, and thus infuses a zest rarely found in works of this character. His main source for English proverbs is Bohn's "Hand book of Proverbs, comprising an entire republication of Raye's Collection of English Proverbs (London, 1860)." The question whether a proverb belongs to this or that nation, with which it has originated and which received it by translation, appears to Herr Wander, with nations

* "Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon. Ein Hausschatz für das deutsche Volk. Herausgegeben von Karl Fr. W. Wander." I. Band. A bis Gothen. Leipzig, 1867. New York: L. W. Schmidt.

which, like most of the European, have been in close relations, to be a difficult one. Like causes producing like results, the same thought may in different nations under similar circumstances spring into life as a proverb, when, naturally, the form which it assumes is of interest. The enquiry whether a proverb has come from the Germans to the English or *vice versa* will hardly lead to any certain result. In the first place, the national mind of each of the two peoples may have created it independently. But even if one of the two nations was the creative, the other the receptive one, how could that be discovered? It might be said, if the same proverb is to be found in English literature a century earlier than in the German, then the Germans received it from the English, or *vice versa*. But this conclusion is not to be trusted. The oldest book on which you can rely as evidence of priority may be suddenly displaced by an older book on the other side, which may almost always at least be supposed to exist. But then, too, the proverb may have lived in the mouth of the people supposed to have received it long before it appeared in any literature. Among every people there are thousands upon thousands of proverbs which have not yet been printed. And why should foreigners living with them not take them back to their native country, and print them there, whilst they are not yet printed at the place of their origin? Mr. Wander expresses his indifference to this question, and only in exceptional cases does he care whether a certain proverb is an original German one or whether it has immigrated, for, at any rate, more proverbs emigrate from Germany than immigrate. Real foreign proverbs will always betray themselves by their foreign stamp.

Of the proverbs of a nation, there are a great many known all over the country, which live in every mouth to-day just as they were spoken centuries ago. But by far the smallest part of the proverbial store of each nation belongs to this class. As there are men whose names are famous not only in their own land but far beyond it, and, on the other hand, men whose activity is limited to their province or county, and men who never went beyond the boundaries of their village, so with proverbs. But the proverbs known and used by a few only are still as much proverbs as those persons men. As there are men whose names go from people to people, from century to century, and others who, hardly born, die, so there are proverbs. The store of proverbs of a nation consists, then, of proverbs of a very different order as regards extension and time of use. It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Wander's dictionary is a standard work, of value to every philologist as well as to all who are interested in German literature.

ANNE BRADSTREET'S WORKS.*

AMONG the passengers in the "Arbella," the admiral of the fleet in which Winthrop and the Massachusetts Company, bringing their charter, transferred the government of the country from Old to New England, were Thomas Dudley and Simon Bradstreet, the one in the ripeness of mature years, the other in the first years of manhood. At the last, or the last but one, of the General Courts held in England, while the fleet was detained at Southampton, the former was elected deputy governor in the place of Humfrey, who remained in England, and Bradstreet was chosen an assistant; both then commencing an active career of public service in the colony, both afterwards called repeatedly to fill the highest office in the infant commonwealth, and the latter, who has been aptly styled "the Nestor of New England," outliving the government as organized under the colonial charter, and even holding office under that granted by William and Mary, more than sixty years after. Two years before the embarkation of the company, Bradstreet had married Anne, the eldest daughter of Dudley, she being then sixteen years of age. In her "Religious Experiences," printed in this volume, she gives an account of the early impressions in regard to her spiritual condition, her restoration from the "pride and vanity" which had taken hold of her, and her final submission and trust in the Saviour. The habits of life and modes of thought prevalent in New England in her time were not congenial to the growth and development of poetic talent, nor was the literary education of women of her rank and station such as would be favorable to the acquisition of a high degree of mental culture. When, therefore, a volume of poems "by a Gentlewoman in New England" was published in London, in 1650, we can appreciate in some degree the feelings of the editor who gave it to the world, under the title of "The Tenth Muse lately sprung up in America." This first collection of her poems was published under the supervision of the Rev. John Woodbridge, who probably took the manuscript with him to England when he sailed for the old country in 1647. A second edition was issued in Boston by John Foster, in 1678, six years after the death of the author, containing

her corrections, and, in addition, many poems found among her papers after her decease, and a third appeared anonymously in Boston in 1758, as "printed from the Second Edition."

We have now, in an attractive form, a complete collection of all the works of Mrs. Bradstreet in prose or verse which are known to be extant, including some posthumous writings which appear in print for the first time. Mr. Ellis has added a memoir of the author and her family, and a summary view of the state of English literature in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The events which led to the emigration to New England, the circumstances attending the embarkation, and the incidents of the voyage, together with the leading occurrences of the first years of the Massachusetts Colony, in which both the father and husband of Mrs. Bradstreet held so prominent a position, are also narrated. The researches of the editor have also brought to view the various authorities upon whom she relied for the historical facts related in her poems. Her education we may suppose to have been eminently a religious one. The Bible, probably in the Geneva version, was her great text-book, and many of the grand and lofty subjects of Holy Writ are treated by her in verse or incidentally cited in her other works. Her more elaborate productions, "The Four Lessons," "The Four Monarchies," and her religious meditations, show on every page her familiarity with the Scriptures.

Her acquaintance with the ancient classical writers was probably limited to the English translations, or to extracts and citations by later authors, it being nearly certain that she was not familiar with the languages of Greece and Rome. The events treated of in her "Exact Epitomie of the Four Monarchies," which are not taken from the historical books of the Old Testament, appear to have been derived mostly from Raleigh's "History of the World," and Mr. Ellis presents us in the introduction with several parallel passages, showing how closely she has followed this author, not only in the narrative but in the language used by him. She appears also to have consulted Usher, Pemble, and other historical writers of the time in the course of her studies.

Mrs. Bradstreet's style, where it rises above the form of dry narration, partakes of the quaint imagery of the religious poets of her time, of whom Henry Vaughan and Francis Quarles are notable examples. Du Bartas, as translated by Joshua Sylvester, appears to have been one of her favorite authors.

Of the literary merit of Mrs. Bradstreet's poems, although we cannot fully agree with worthy President Rogers, who describes himself as "weltering in delight" after their perusal, we may say that there are not wanting descriptive passages, even in the narrative poems, in which her ideas are clothed in becoming and dignified language. Among these we may mention the verses entitled "Contemplations," which contain many excellent thoughts, simply but gracefully expressed.

The scenes and events of her daily life, especially those which were connected with the domestic affections, form no small part of the themes upon which she was wont to dwell. Many of her poems first published in the second edition are of this class. Letters to her husband in his absence from home, and touching and affectionate memorials of members of her family who had died in early age, mostly written in the last years of her life, are among these effusions, with verses suggested by such events as the access of a fit of sickness, the birth of a child, the departure of a near relative for a foreign country, or some other simple incident of her domestic life.

This collection of the writings of this amiable and able woman is a worthy and fitting contribution to the series of reprints of the works of early American authors, many of which have been recently issued.

PROFESSOR STOWE ON THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE*

PROFESSOR STOWE has presented in a popular form much valuable information concerning the origin and history of the New Testament Scriptures. He designs to publish hereafter another volume of a similar character upon the Old Testament. His style is homely and pithy, and his discussions are intelligible to readers of the average degree of intelligence. His third chapter, which treats of ancient manuscripts and of the mode of their transmission, is of special interest. The engraved specimens which accompany the text help to elucidate the subject. The colloquial tone of the author occasionally runs into a diverting extravagance of assertion or of metaphor. On p. 30, after protesting against a metaphysical interpretation of Scripture, he says: "Everything to its appropriate use. I would not take a broad-axe

* "The Works of Anne Bradstreet, in Prose and Verse. Edited by John Harvard Ellis." Charlestown: Abram E. Cutter. 1867.

* "Origin and History of the Books of the Bible, with the Canonical and the Apocryphal, designed to show what the Bible is not, what it is, and how to use it. By Prof. C. E. Stowe, D.D." Hartford, 1867.

to mend a pen with, nor a penknife to hew ship-timber with." There is no lack of emphasis in the announcement of his opinions. Speaking of the folly of confounding the canonical gospels with the apocryphal, he exclaims (p. 235): "With even more reason might you attribute the planning and rearing of such edifices as Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Church and the new Parliament House to such characters as Mr. Pickwick and Mr. Jingle, the Artful Dodger and Fagin the Jew. There is reason in all things that are really things; and that which has no reason in it is nothing (an *Unding*), and neither deserves nor needs an answer." The author is evidently a lover of truth, and possessed of a fair stock of learning. His warmth sometimes leads him to leap to his conclusions, and to place what is at best problematical in the same category with what is established. For example, when he affirms (p. 165) that Matthew, having written his gospel in Hebrew, wrote it afterwards again in Greek, he makes an assertion which is not only without proof, but is destitute of plausibility. What evidence is there that Matthew made this translation, or this new composition? Prof. Stowe also assumes that the fact of a Hebrew original of the first gospel is unquestionable. He must be aware that so great a critic as Bleek, not to mention others, takes the opposite ground. In his polemical observations the author loses power by an exhibition of impatience, and by instituting in some places invective and ridicule for argument. After describing Renan's hypothesis respecting the life of Jesus, he begins his replication thus: "What is all this but the sheerest and most extravagant moonshine? What shadow or even pretence of a shadow of historical testimony or historical evidence of any kind does Renan give us? Not a particle of evidence of any kind, except the vagaries of his own brain, does he pretend to give." Of the various rationalistic hypotheses, he remarks (p. 306): "Their hypotheses have absolutely nothing to stand upon. They are made wholly out of air and fog, and the moment the sun shines on them they are gone." This rhetoric is not of the kind denominated by Aristotle and other masters "the conciliatory." It is not adapted to win the attention and respect of doubters who may have been captivated by the ingenious but unsound theories which Professor Stowe sets himself to combat. But, apart from certain blemishes, some of which we have indicated, the work is a meritorious one, and is likely to prove useful to a great number of persons who crave information on the topics discussed in it.

Argument for Opening the Reading-Room of the Boston Public Library on Sunday Afternoons. By Charles M. Ellis. (Boston: A. Williams & Co.)—We are glad this argument has been printed, all the more because, through no deficiency of its own, it failed of its immediate object. That object, as we have before expressed our belief, is postponed merely, not defeated, and meantime this pamphlet will work for it potently, and stimulate a renewal of the petition with an improved public sentiment behind it. It is our constant hope, too, that public libraries will be multiplied in every part of every State, and as the Sunday question is pretty sure to arise in a majority of instances—especially till the great cities have set the liberal example—this pamphlet has more than a local value, and should be widely circulated. In time, we are sure, not only will the people of Massachusetts appreciate the wise doctrine of their constitution, that "the encouragement of arts and sciences, and all good literature, tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this and the other United States," but it will come to be adopted also by the country at large. It appears that three times as many books are taken out of the Boston Public Library on Saturday as on any other day—of course that they may furnish reading for Sunday—but we do not hear that this is deplored, or that any one pretends nowadays to prohibit so-called secular reading on Sunday, or proposes any remedy for the Saturday evasion. On the other hand, all Sunday-school libraries distribute and recall their volumes on Sunday. Mr. Ellis rightly insists that the question is not one of days, but that, "if the use of the reading-room is for the spiritual good of man, it is good for the Sabbath and for this day [Sunday];" and as for the demand that the open library must be shown to be a "necessity," "shall we," he asks, "save a few cocks of hay, and waste the stores of knowledge, the spiritual good?"

The modesty of the Boston petition—for the opening of the reading-room only, with its newspapers, periodicals, and valuable books of reference, involving perhaps the services of a single attendant, and competing with the churches in that part of Sunday when their congregations are smallest and most insignificant in relation to the great body of the people—a petition for access to religious journals as well as to scientific and popular, supported by the librarian of the Public Library and of the Boston Athenæum—such moderation, we venture to say, is less likely to be exhibited another year because it has been repulsed in this. And we suppose Mr. Ellis would admit

that his argument covers the circulating library as well as that portion which, from its nature, can not be taken from the building, but which all the more needs to be accessible on the chief and only leisure day of thousands of industrious citizens.

The Sayings of Dr. Bushwhacker and other Learned Men. By Frederick S. Cozzens, author of "Sparrowgrass Papers," etc., et al. (New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867.)—The articles, essays, papers, pieces, or whatever may be the proper name for the materials of which this book is made up, are chiefly by Mr. Cozzens, while a few are from other hands. He says, in his preface, "The papers included in this volume are partly from *The Wine Press*, a monthly periodical which I edited for seven years—until the breaking out of the civil war—with some new articles, and with various essays of the author, that have heretofore been printed on the sands of fugitive magazines and newspapers. Some of these shells and pebbles I have reclaimed; the rest lie upon the beach unnoticed, and happily unknown."

Dr. Bushwhacker is a gentleman who delivers opinions in an authoritative manner on all sorts of subjects—tea, tapioca-pudding, the relation of literature to liquor, and many others—to an admiring audience who supply him at the right moments with questions calculated to stimulate his flow of ideas. The result is a considerable amount of information and opinion, given in a hasty, bustling way, which now and then amuses, but oftener fatigues. In fact, to sum the whole matter up in a few words, we should say that the chief difficulty with Dr. Bushwhacker, and the whole Bushwhacker family (and a very large and prolific family it is too, chiefly engaged in what may be called the paper-business), is that, notwithstanding their desperately good intentions, and their voluminous achievements, they do not succeed in their main desire, they do not attain their central object; they are not—the little word must be said—they are not—funny.

Altogether the best thing in the book is an imitation of Macaulay's style by Colonel Porter of the Eighth New York Artillery, who died at Cold Harbor leading a charge at the head of his regiment during the late war. He has been better known heretofore through his patriotism than through his talent for writing; but to those who read this charming *jeu d'esprit*, published for the first time by Mr. Cozzens, his ability as a writer will make itself quite as apparent as had already his devotion to his country. This short extract, from a supposed volume of Macaulay's in which his history has been brought down to a period within the memory of men still living, comprises accounts of the characters of Washington and Franklin. Of the former "stoic savages told with wonder how he alone was calm when the soldiers of Braddock were slaughtered like sheep; and Continental veterans love to narrate how his face shone with heroic fire as he rallied the broken battalions at Monmouth." And the description of Franklin is capital too: "A Quaker diplomatist was about to appear in the most artificial of courts; a new Archimedes was to come from the land of the Natchez and the Mohawk: the legate of the latest republic was to recall the image of antique wisdom and of antique virtue—of the Grecian Solon and the Roman Regulus. Haughty courtiers bent in emotion before him: brilliant beauties struggled for a kiss," etc. etc. It is pleasing, in these days of far-fetched parodies and wild burlesques, to come upon an imitation at once so amusing and so close. It is difficult to see why even Macaulay himself should find fault with the copy.

The Principles and Practice of Disinfection. By Robert Barthelow, A.M., M.D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the Medical College of Ohio. (Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll & Co. 1867.)—In this little book we have a clear and explicit account of the principles and practice of disinfection, which it would be well if every household in the land could be made to read and act upon. The language is simple and the doctrines enunciated are fully up to the present state of chemical and hygienic science. Dr. Barthelow does not unduly exalt disinfection. All means of purifying the air are, as he admits, nothing compared to ventilation—that is, the removal of the vitiated atmosphere and its replacement with that which is fresh and uncontaminated. Unfortunately we cannot always effect good ventilation, and then the noxious matters in the air must be as far as possible destroyed. If mankind could be made to act up to the principles of health as established by the science of hygiene, there would be no need for disinfectants of any kind. The best evidence we have ever had of the natural depravity of man is his inborn contempt for cleanliness; and, perhaps, not till the advent of the millennium may we hope for a radical change in his disposition.

With the view, however, of aiding in this desirable transformation, we recommend Dr. Barthelow's admirable little volume to all who wish to make life more tolerable than it is at present.

Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.

All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.

As might have been expected, the public debt is likely to form the most prominent topic of discussion in preparation for the State elections of this fall, perhaps even more prominent than the dispute between the President and Congress. The importance of this dispute depends entirely on the bearing it is likely to have on the work of reconstruction, and the work of reconstruction on the Congressional plan is more likely to be frustrated by a determined assault on the public credit than in any other way. In selecting the public credit, too, as the object of their attacks, the Democratic leaders are displaying that intimate acquaintance with the worst side of human nature by which for years past their greatest triumphs have been won. The character of a people is, in fact, much more severely tested by the pecuniary cost of a war than by the war itself. During the progress of hostilities there are plenty of sources besides mere love of principle from which men draw the courage never to submit or yield. There is pride, hatred, animal pugnacity, interest in the dread game itself, all of which have often operated to protract a war for years after its original cause or objects had been forgotten, and after all principle or semblance of principle had died out of it. But when the last shot has been fired, the banners have been folded, the dead buried, the books balanced, and men have to settle down to the dull routine of their old life, and toil not only to repair their shattered fortunes, but to pay off money borrowed to help them to secure objects which have been already secured or lost beyond doubt—money, too, which, like most money borrowed in seasons of doubt and danger, has perhaps been borrowed on very unfavorable terms, and which has doubtless been spent wildly, recklessly, and extravagantly, as money is apt to be in time of war—then, and only then, comes the real trial of their honor and patriotism. Almost any male animal will fight, but it is only the *élite* of the human race which, when the fighting is over, will sit down in the calm of peace and doggedly and industriously pay. Demagogues know this, of course, perfectly well, and count on it, so that, whether they have in the first instance advocated the war or not, they are pretty sure, when it is over, to advise people to repudiate.

The leaders of the Democratic party have, perhaps, stronger reasons for urging repudiation than any other demagogues have ever had. In the first place, they violently opposed the war, and predicted steadily and persistently that the money borrowed for it would never be refunded. Therefore they have the ordinary human interest in bringing about the fulfilment of their own prophecies. In the second place, they look on the public debt as a great instrument of national consolidation, and to consolidation they are violently opposed; and if they should succeed in breaking down the national credit at this juncture, they feel satisfied that the United States would never again be able to borrow on any great scale or for any great enterprise—certainly never to resist a new attempt at secession. Moreover, they are the friends of only one "section," and that is the South. To them New England is nothing and New York is nothing and the West is nothing; but for the South as a unit they have a real tenderness. Now, the South will probably feel the burden of the debt more than any other part of the country. To her it is not simply a debt, it is a penalty, and a very humiliating penalty—a moral as well as a physical burden. It is at once the sign and memorial of her defeat. To get rid of the debt is, therefore, the highest service the Democrats can render the South, and, perhaps, the only way they can hope to win back the Southern whites into the old alliance.

Of course they do not now propose downright repudiation. They are much too shrewd to be guilty of such brutal frankness as this. They know perfectly well that the memories of the war are still strong and still sacred, and though they opposed it bitterly and mourned over every Union victory, and though the sight of the uniform is odious to them, they like to get a Union soldier for their candidate

whenever they can, and affect to consider their participation in the struggle a title to popular confidence. Occasionally at a nominating convention, as the other day in Ohio, a drunken or indiscreet member blurts out the real feeling of the party about the Northern army, but he is instantly checked, and one of his colleagues "sits on his head," as on a fallen horse, till his kicking and plunging can do no harm. So, also, with regard to the public debt, they approach it cautiously and with the tenderest regard for what they consider the popular weakness. They have accordingly opened the campaign by a determined attack on the interest of it, while for the principal they profess the profoundest respect. This idea of assailing the public credit as an instrument of party warfare was undoubtedly conceived long ago. The first public expression of it was made in Mr. Johnson's conversation with Miles O'Reilly, in which he denounced the public creditors as a "bond aristocracy," and declared the design of the Radicals was to administer the Government for their benefit. But in Mr. Johnson's hands it has not, as might have been expected, been used with as much dexterity as in Mr. Pendleton's. The theory on which the "bond aristocracy" was held up for popular execration was that the United States bonds were mainly held by very wealthy men, and that the Government was passing more and more into the hands of its creditors and used to serve their purposes. Mr. Pendleton knows, of course, that this is absurd, or what is, perhaps, more to the purpose, knows that nobody will believe it; so, instead of maintaining that the debt is kept up for the benefit of a few bloated capitalists, he simply says that for the debt he has the deepest respect; all that he objects to is the interest. He says that the holders of the bonds did not pay for them in specie but in greenbacks, and this at a time when greenbacks were worth very much less than they are now; therefore, what can be more fair than to pay them off in greenbacks? In this way they will get what they gave. The greenbacks required to settle their claims will only cost a few hours' labor at the printing-press, and the people will be relieved of the burden of the interest.

The answer to this proposal is, of course, obvious. The price which every holder of United States bonds paid for them was what they were worth at the time. Investing in "Governments" during the war was a speculation which it required, both on the part of the native and foreigner, considerable faith to make. At the time when most of the United States bonds were issued some of the ablest financiers in the world were strongly of opinion that they would never be paid. The fortunes of war were still doubtful. Even the most ardent supporters of it could say little more, in 1863 and 1864, than that they would never give up—that, come sooner or come later, victory would be for the North, though what it would cost in men and money to achieve it nobody could tell. Moreover, the low rate in specie at which bonds could be bought was one of the arguments most strongly urged in recommending them to investors. To turn round now and use it as an argument for not paying them in specie would be very like fining a man for his simplicity in being taken in by a cheat. Every nation which has never had its credit severely tested, and which is engaged in a war waged not for conquest or a disputed succession, but to decide whether it is a nation or not, must expect to borrow money at a disadvantage, and borrowing at a disadvantage means getting very little and undertaking to pay a great deal.

If we now undertook to pay off these bonds in greenbacks, the minute the proposition was made public greenbacks would lose nearly all their value; first, because the very issue of them would be a sign that the United States promises to pay were worthless. Nobody in his senses would give anything for the promissory notes of a government which had repudiated its bonds, particularly when these very notes were issued as the means of repudiation; secondly, because the number of greenbacks would be so greatly increased that, even if their payment is certain, their value in relation to gold would fall to about one-half its present figure. It is not probable, in fact, that after the Democratic plan of getting rid of the interest had been adopted, greenbacks would bring five cents on the dollar. There would be a general return to specie payments; but it would be through one of the greatest swindles on record. Except for the fun and excitement of the "financiering," simple and undisguised repudiation would be much preferable, as it would certainly be more simple and manly, and would cer-

tainly make a less unfavorable impression on mankind as to the condition of American morals.

The argument which Mr. Pendleton and his *confrères* bring forward, and which is producing, and probably will produce, more effect than any, is the weight with which the interest of the debt presses on the mass of the people. But this is not a question which, with a people making any pretensions to morality, is worth a moment's consideration. The repayment of borrowed money is almost always a painful and inconvenient process; but this has never been held to be a good reason for not repaying it. Everybody knew the burden of the public debt would be heavy when the loans were raised, and whether they were well or ill spent is something with which the lenders have nothing to do; the national faith being pledged to them that they will be repaid in coin and in any event, not if we find it convenient, or if the West is satisfied or the East is satisfied, or if the poor are satisfied, but under all circumstances and at any hazard. It is pledged, too, against all forced conversions or wriggings or twistings or turnings which will make the debt any less valuable to bondholders than it was agreed that it should be when it was contracted. If we should fail to pay as we promised to pay, the creditors have, it is true, no remedy. There is no tribunal before which a nation can be cited; but no nation has ever yet repudiated without finding before very long what a terrible thing the loss of credit is, for nations which repudiate are almost always governed by knaves, and so badly governed that they can never very long keep out of scrapes which make loans necessary.

We confess, however, that except as an illustration of the way in which demagogues seek to use human baseness for their own selfish ends, we do not consider the Democratic crusade against the public debt very formidable. The "bond aristocracy" is happily a figment of Mr. Johnson's excited though not very cultivated imagination. The vast majority of the holders of the national bonds are poor men and women who are glad to commit their hardly-won savings to the national keeping, and where they do not hold them directly the savings-banks hold them by the million, so that the public credit has plenty of support in the interest as well as in the honor of the people.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the course of the majority on a question of this sort. If democracy is going to excel monarchies and aristocracies in nothing but in being stronger, better fed, and richer, everybody who believes that the mission of nations as of men is not to breed fast and get fat, but to "incline to God's will and walk in his way," will be glad to see the last of it. If this democracy were deliberately to embrace the principles preached by what is called the Democratic party in this country, history would talk of it as the worst curse that ever befel mankind. From the vices of kings and nobles there was an appeal to popular virtue, but from the vices of democracy there is no appeal but to despotism. It is, of course, of the highest importance that we should all get rich as fast as we can; but in getting rich we should never forget that the state is something "better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and of coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all arts, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection."

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

It appears that the Committee on Education at the Constitutional Convention now sitting at Albany are not about to recommend that education be made compulsory in the State. We regret this determination, for not only does the successful operation of our democratic republican political system depend upon the general education of the community, but it is through universal education alone that the system can be protected against the worst perils that menace its efficiency and its permanence. It is probable that two considerations have mainly influenced the committee in their conclusions. First, that the State does not yet provide sufficient means for the education of all its members, and that until this is done it would be impracticable to make education compulsory; and, second, that the mass of the community is

not sufficiently enlightened to recognize the full importance of universal education, and consequently not prepared to give to an enactment making education compulsory that moral support which is requisite for the efficiency of any law whatsoever. For the power of law in a community like ours depends primarily not on the penalties it denounces for its violation, nor on the number and fidelity of the agents employed in enforcing it, but on its correspondence with the general sense and sentiment of the community as to its necessity and justice.

The point, then, to be aimed at in the discussion of the subject for the present is the quickening of the sense of the community as to its importance, so as to bring the people to the conviction that universal education is the indispensable foundation and safeguard of a system of universal suffrage. Where every man is a voter, and where every woman is soon to become one, every man and every woman is supposed, in theory at least, to possess that amount of intelligence which is requisite for the exercise of the elective franchise without risk to the safety of the State. Political power without intelligence means simply mischief; it is the power to do harm.

Now education, indeed, does not create or even absolutely secure intelligence. Its object is to promote the development of intelligence, to afford a stimulus to its growth, and to provide the individual with the necessary means for that self-culture by which native capacities are increased. Education thus prepares the way for the franchise; it creates a substantial claim for its exercise, a claim far more effective in politics, far more real in justice, than any that rests upon a fancied natural right.

It would seem hardly to require argument to show that where universal suffrage prevails, there should exist universal education. Education short of universal will not answer, for a few ignorant men can do harm that not ten times their number of intelligent voters can prevent or can repair. The present condition of the government and the judiciary of the city of New York is as striking an illustration as could be afforded of the inefficiency of a system of education, excellent as far as it goes, but falling short of universality, to protect the community of honest and instructed men from the evils wrought by a band of ignorant and, in a great measure in consequence of their ignorance, unprincipled men.

But, say the advocates of our present system as opposed to a compulsory system, nobody denies the advantage of education, or the importance of its being universal; supply the means of universal education, but leave every individual free to make use of the means for himself or his children according to the dictates of reason and interest; you have no right to diminish his sense of responsibility or to limit his personal freedom, by compelling him to make use of opportunities or advantages against his will; you destroy the fundamental principle of our political system—the independence and liberty of the individual.

Such talk as this is a specimen of the loose and fallacious thought which is far too common among us. The *absolute* independence and liberty of the individual is not the fundamental principle of our political system, but only the *relative* independence and liberty. Society and government are organized, laws are enacted, simply to maintain the relative independence and liberty. The absolute freedom of every individual is constantly limited by the strong arm of the law, representing not only the general interest of the community of which he forms a part, but his own final particular interest. It is the interest of the community no less than of the individual that he should be as free as possible—that is, as free as is consistent with the greatest possible amount of general freedom. Now, the general freedom is impaired, and consequently in the long run the freedom of each individual diminished, by the prevalence of ignorance. The ignorance of a single person lessens to the extent of that person's power the freedom of the community. It is forced to provide safeguards against the evils of which his ignorance may be the source. In every crowded community there is a large class of children who, if not educated, become thieves, paupers, and, if possessed of political powers, dangerous to the state, but who, if educated, become productive and helpful members of the general body of the people.

Compulsory education, then, far from being, as it may seem at first sight, a limitation of individual freedom, is, on the contrary, its pro-

tection. The state is only the concrete expression of the mass of the individuals who compose it, and its interest is never really in opposition to theirs. It is the interest of the state to have every individual educated; it is the interest of every individual to be so. But in many instances he will not be sufficiently enlightened as to his interest to secure education for himself or his children, and it becomes the first duty of the state to compel him to secure that education without which he is likely to be hurtful to himself no less than to the community.

Universal compulsory education is at first costly, but it is, in the long run, the truest economy. It not only gives to the individual the command of his faculties, which enables him to become a producer of values, but it saves him from becoming a burden on the state or a plunderer of the community. An increase in expense for schools leads to a decrease of expenses for courts, police, prisons, jails, and work-houses. In Switzerland, as we learn from a late authority, "a reformed system of education has almost emptied the jails. In July, 1863, there was not a soul in the prison of the Canton de Vaud; at Neuchâtel there were two prisoners. In the Grand-Duchy of Baden, where great efforts were made in 1834 for the improvement of education, the number of prisoners fell in eight years (1854-1861) from 1,426 to 691, the number of thefts from 1,009 became 460, pauperism decreased by one-fourth, and jails had to be closed." There is no need to multiply instances of this sort. They may be found in abundance on every hand. The fact is established and admitted that education in proportion to its extent and thoroughness is an economy to a state.

Laws exist in several of the United States imposing penalties for truancy or unnecessary absence from school, but no State of the Union has yet adopted an effective compulsory system. New York is not behind her sisters in this respect. But, with the practical establishment of the rule of universal suffrage, the necessity of universal education becomes more plain, and it can hardly be long before the most enlightened States will be led to an efficient compulsory system. Unless such a system be adopted there can be no certainty of the continuance of our prosperity or our freedom.

It is a mistake to suppose that such a system would be, if properly devised, irksome to the people, or that it would have to be enforced against the will of the larger and better part of them. The Rev. Mark Pattison, one of her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners of Education, speaking of the system as it exists in Prussia, says:

"Compulsory school attendance dates from the earliest period of the Reformation, and was a recognized religious duty long before it became a law of the state. The schooling is compulsory only in name; the school has taken so deep a root in the social habit of the German people that, were the law repealed to-morrow, no one doubts that the schools would continue as full as they now are."

So it would be in America. Let the state provide ample means for the education of every child within its borders, and then let it compel parents to make use of these means for their children.

EUROPEAN PROSPECTS.

THE fears of a European war, which have again begun to prevail, and which the Emperor Napoleon's pacific speeches are hardly sufficient to dissipate, are exercising once more such a powerful influence on trade and finance that it may be worth while to consider what amount of foundation they have. That the French Government is anxious to fight, both for the purpose of checking the aggrandizement of Prussia and of wiping out the remembrance of the Mexican expedition, and of the mortifying check it experienced in the Luxembourg affair, may as well be taken for granted in all discussion on this subject. On this point there is little or no room for doubt. But when the minute speculators conclude that it will do what it would like to do, will rush into the field against Prussia as readily as Mr. Banks or Fernando Wood propose to bestow belligerent rights on the Fenians, they become an easy prey to every newsmonger who chooses to concoct a sensational story. The rapid arming of the French troops with the Chassepôt rifle does not, as we have over and over asserted, indicate any intention on the part of the Emperor to engage in immediate hostilities. It is a natural and obvious precaution against a terrible

and disastrous surprise. After the exhibition afforded in the Sadowa campaign of the advantages of the needle-gun, he would be mad to leave the French army unprovided with a similar weapon one minute longer than is necessary, let his intentions be ever so pacific. He might not choose to fight Prussia, but Prussia might at any time choose to fight him, and it is not true of nations, as it is of individuals, that "it takes two to make a quarrel." It is not likely that the French army will, however, be fully provided with the new weapon before next spring, so that even if the Emperor were so impatient as to contemplate a winter campaign, common prudence would dictate his waiting till next May; and that he intends to wait may be inferred from the pains which he, the *Moniteur*, and the Marquis de Moustier are taking to spread pacific assurances.

It is tolerably certain, however, that he will not risk a war with such an antagonist as Prussia without an ally. Prussia would undoubtedly be able to bring a million of men into the field for a struggle with France, and although General Changarnier has laid it down recently that an army of 500,000 is as much as any power need care to have or can well manage, it is nevertheless true that two armies of 500,000 each would be apt, if well handled, to make mince-meat of one of the same size. Even Hanover, the most hostile and discontented of recent Prussian annexations, would against Frenchmen be faithful to the core. The South German states, too, are rapidly fulfilling the engagements they have entered into with Prussia. Baden has already provided herself with 24,000 needle-guns and two million cartridges; Würtemberg with 30,000 needle-guns and one million and a half of cartridges; and Bavaria is working with equal zeal; so it is expected that by next spring these three powers will be able to place at the disposal of Prussia 120,000 men, armed, equipped, drilled, and organized on the Prussian model. There is nothing in this complicated affair, perhaps, so certain as that Germany expects war in the spring. The testimony on this point is overwhelming. Germans are confident that Louis Napoleon means to fight, and as soon as possible, and no pacific speeches or circulars will cause them to change their opinion. Therefore German preparations are likely to be prosecuted through the winter with great ardor. But it is equally certain that the Germans do not want war. One of the results of the Prussian military system, and one which, perhaps, its projectors did not foresee, is, that experience of war, instead of exciting military ardor amongst the population, diminishes it. Under the military system of all other European states soldiering is the trade of a distinct class, and the soldier's only hope of a rise in life lies in frequent and prolonged wars. Therefore it has become almost an axiom with European publicists that a sovereign who has once achieved success in the field cannot long remain at peace; that he will be forced by his troops to find employment for them. Reasoning on this theory, most writers in England, even those who were most friendly, expected that the close of our war with the South would be followed by an attack on Canada—that a million of men, flushed with conquest, could never be got to disperse quietly to their homes.

In the Prussian army, however, the professional soldiers, properly so called, in time of war form a small minority. The mass of the men are bound to civil life by the closest ties, and the evils of war, instead of being felt only by a class which has made war its trade, are felt in every home, shop, and counting-house in the land. So that greatly as Prussian pride has been exalted by the Seven Weeks' Campaign, we venture to assert that there is at this moment far less military enthusiasm than there was before Sadowa. As a matter of fact, there is very much less boasting heard from Prussians since Sadowa than there was after the pitiful exploit of Düppel against the Danes. At Düppel, victory was achieved with little or no loss, and it was the first affair in which Prussian troops under the new system had been engaged, except in the little campaign against the Baden insurgents in 1849, and it naturally greatly excited their imaginations as to what they could accomplish if they could meet a first-class power in the open field. The campaign against Austria, brilliant as it was, was attended with enormous loss. The new levies, in spite of their good qualities under fire and their admirable patience, succumbed readily under fatigue and exposure, as new levies must always do; the commissariat arrangements were, in many respects, defective, and the hospital arrangements were positively bad. The result is that the German people, both victors and vanquished,

will now very willingly repose on their laurels. France, if there be a war, will almost certainly be the aggressor.

But France will hardly attack without a certainty of success. A war with Prussia would not be, in any sense of the word, a national war. It would not be waged in defence of the national territory or in vengeance for an insult; it would, in short, have no better or higher object than to prove Louis Napoleon's fitness to occupy the French throne—so that success would be for him an absolute necessity; defeat would be ruin. The passage of the French frontier by a victorious Prussian army would almost certainly be the signal for the overthrow of the Bonaparte dynasty. Therefore we may be sure we shall not witness a commencement of hostilities on the part of France, unless her chances are at least equal. They can only be made equal by an ally, and the only possible ally is Austria. England is incapable of a Continental war, Italy is on the verge of bankruptcy, and France is evidently, from her course with regard to the Papal legion, in no humor to conciliate her; Spain is in the throes of an insurrection, and Russia is gone soul and body into Panslavism, and cares nothing for anybody who cannot help her to get Constantinople.

What is Austria worth as an ally against Prussia? Nothing, or next to nothing. If we take from the Austrian revenue at this moment the expense of the army and navy on a peace footing, and the interest on the public debt, there remains for the court, the civil administration, and all other expenses, \$5,000,000! Another great war is for a power thus situated simply impossible. The calmest and shrewdest observers of the condition of Austria declare that at least ten years of peace and reform are necessary to give the empire even a chance of life. Hungary is still in a troubled condition, and the ministry is on the point of resigning, while the Slavonic population of the empire is also lately honeycombed by Russian propagandism. The Bohemians, Croats, and Serbs are all wild with the idea of a great Panslavic confederation. Deputations from the Slaves of Servia, as well as of Hungary and Bohemia, visited St. Petersburg in May, and were received with great cordiality, and during their stay nothing was heard of in speeches and newspapers but Slavonic unity. A Russian journal, the *Sviet*, has been established in Hungary, devoted entirely to the interests of the Slavonic, or, as it pleases to call them, Russian population; another organ of the same party is published in Russian at Prague, and another, called *The Aurora*, at Vienna. With Hungary independent and by no means enamored of the Hapsburg family, and with the Slaves absorbed in the idea of the political reunion of their scattered race, Austria's only reliance in war would be the original German duchy, and this against Germans, even if its forces were worth mention, would hardly be depended on.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to believe that the Salzburg conference has increased the chance of hostilities. We venture to predict that it will be found to have dissipated all thought of them, as far as Louis Napoleon is concerned. He found Francis Joseph a very different man from the hot youth whom he met at Villafranca. The disasters of the last ten years have not befallen the Austrian Emperor for nothing. The unfortunate man is now perhaps for the first time aware that he is the last of the feudal sovereigns, that the prosperity of his house depended on the preservation of the order of things which raised it to greatness, and that the invincible forces of modern society are all arrayed against him.

HINTS FOR CONSTITUTION-MAKERS.

BY A JUDGE.

IV.—THE EXECUTIVE.

In this country the chief evils that attend the executive are, 1st, The abuse of the appointing power; and, 2d, The inefficiency of the public service. The former is most powerful in the General Government; the latter in the government of New York. Whoever has had any extended business intercourse with the two must have observed how much more capable are the officials, and how much more efficient is the system, of the United States. It may be laid down as a rule that the General Government is served more cheaply for the service it exacts, and receives better service for the wages it pays, than any other employer with whom it competes. There is, undoubtedly, some secret corruption and the slackness of execution that is inseparable from the service of all governments, yet the machinery goes round year after

year with incredibly few flaws appearing and scarcely ever with a breakage occurring.

He who has gone behind the scenes at Washington knows that the labor, care, and responsibility rest upon comparatively few men. There will be found two classes of officials—the one composed of worthless trash too weak for the tests of ordinary employers, which has been forced by members of Congress upon the secretaries, and by the secretaries upon their protesting subordinates; the other of elderly, sober, industrious business men, who meddle not at all with politics, and care little for Congress and its members' influence. These are the men who do the work. They hold office perennially, and grow gray and remain beggars in the service of the Government. The Government keeps them in office because it cannot do without them; but it neither pays them adequately, nor promotes them justly, nor holds out any hope or promise. These are the employees that I refer to when I say that the General Government is more cheaply served than any other employer; and they conclusively prove that when a competent man can be assured of remaining in office, he prefers the Government to any other employer.

Political patronage is the curse of the civil service, and may prove the curse of the republic. It was the power of the South; the infection with which slavery corrupted the political parties of the North. When a man's political opinions are the tenure of his office, and his office gives him his livelihood, there is a fearful strain upon his conscience and integrity. Moreover, there is in the service of the General Government and the several States an immense army of persons dependent for support on these various governments. They are not producers and render nothing toward the common stock. But behind them is a much larger throng, some of whom have been turned out of office and some of whom have been disappointed in "getting in." These men are for the most part idlers, subtracted from the general industry of the people. We cannot at this time afford to lose so many hands; for their loss is so much subtracted from the national wealth and certainly from the national energy.

The vile doctrine that the public service is political plunder, under the specious cry that to the victor belong the spoils, began with Jackson, and continued unquestioned till it was checked by Lincoln. It is assumed that this political patronage is a great political power, which helps parties to control elections, and helps incumbents to control conventions. And this is true. Yet our political history presents the remarkable fact, that while the President is the officer most likely and most able to profit by the public service and use it for his individual benefit, he has always been its victim. The great and significant fact seems to have been unseen by our public men, that between Jackson and Lincoln only one President has been renominated, and not one has been re-elected.

Americans are a practical people, yet full of theories and strangely unobservant of facts. While Europeans have gone forward, we have gone backward (so as to be not far from the ministry of Walpole), and are fifty years behind England in the matter of the civil service. The most statesmanlike measure of reform that has been presented for twenty years was the bill of Mr. Jenckes at the previous session of Congress. Yet it was defeated because a few semi-civilized members thought that an efficient and economical civil service would do well enough for the aristocracy of Europe, but was not adapted to our free institutions.

In the State of New York the governor is but a part of the executive. His powers are chiefly negative—to veto bills, to pardon criminals, and the like. He cannot remove the secretary of state, nor control a single officer of state, though he may appoint temporarily in cases of vacancy, and may turn his executive-chamber into a court-room, and, when charges are preferred against a district attorney or sheriff, take legal evidence and determine the matter in a judicial way. I presume that in the last twenty years not one public officer has been removed by the governor for carelessness, ignorance, imbecility, or general neglect of duty, and those who have been reached for specific acts are very few. The Prison Association has shown that the district attorneys of this State have alarmingly neglected to prosecute bail bonds. If any citizen chooses to prefer a charge against any district attorney to the effect that he has corruptly and improperly refrained from prosecuting the forfeited recognizance of A. B., and will then proceed to prove the charge, and shall succeed in making out a sufficient case, it is probable that the governor will remove the delinquent officer. But what governor has ever dreamed of saying to a district attorney, "Sir, the laws are not faithfully administered in your county, the constitution makes it my duty to see that they are, and if your part of the work is not better performed you will be removed"? The greatest of statesmen would be weak in such an office, and when it comes to the selection and election of a governor, the people know that there is little good to come out of the office, and that when the veto and the pardoning powers are past, it makes little difference who is governor. The only governor whose hand New York has felt through the period of her present constitution was Edwin D. Morgan; and he showed himself strong by the firm and fearless exercise of these two powers.

The facts which our twofold experience discloses are these:

1. The executive should have the smallest possible gift of patronage

—the power to appoint a few chief officers who are intended to co-operate immediately with him, and the power to fill vacancies, and nothing more.

2. He should have almost unrestricted power of removal for cause, and to secure the efficient and faithful administration of the laws, care being taken that his removals are for those objects, and a solemn declaration being required that they are made for those objects only.

3. The tenure of administrative offices should be for good behavior; and no man should be appointed to office until his fitness has passed the test of examination, and the appointing power should be vested in those officers who will be immediately and directly responsible for the work of their subordinates.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

WE publish elsewhere a communication from a gentleman whose position in the world of letters fairly entitles him to criticize language used in public discussion, even when, as in the present case, he does it somewhat sharply, taking exception to the terms in which we last week spoke of Mr. Carlyle and his latest diatribe against democracy. As we have never admitted that any of the great lights of our time were never mistaken, we have no right, even if we had the desire, to claim infallibility for ourselves either as to the form or substance of what we say, and it may be that on grounds of taste there are objections to speaking of Mr. Carlyle and his deliverances in the terms in which we have spoken of them. But then we deny that it is to be taken for granted, as Mr. Kirk seems to do, that strong language is always unwarrantable; and we propose to offer some reasons, to be taken by the reader for what they are worth, for believing that we have not in this instance fallen into a sin which we have so often taken the liberty of condemning in others.

Mr. Kirk has evidently very much misunderstood the issue between THE NATION and Horace Greeley on the subject of "calling names" in discussion. Mr. Greeley has, we believe, always claimed, and has, to our knowledge, in numerous instances exercised, the right of treating dissent from his opinions on political and legal questions as moral offences. We remember a case in which he denounced a correspondent as a "scoundrel" for simply construing a section of the Constitution, in very mild and temperate language, differently from himself. Nothing has been more common with him than to call men "liars" for simply giving a different version of an occurrence from that which Mr. Greeley believed to be the correct one, or for imputing motives or aims to the Republican party which he, on its behalf, felt bound to repudiate. Now, no man can "lie" or be a "scoundrel" without knowing that he "lies" or that his conduct has been base; and to conclude, because a man differs from you on a point of law or takes a view of public affairs or of the character of public men different from your own, he is knowingly guilty of an attempt to deceive, or, in other words, of an immoral act, is, in the first place, absurd. If this rule were applied to himself, Horace Greeley would certainly be pronounced by a majority of the people of the United States the greatest "liar" in America, for nobody has differed in opinion from a greater number of people. In the next place, it is mischievous, inasmuch as it confuses people's notions of right and wrong, and, by familiarizing them with the imputation of falsehood and baseness to men whom they know to be upright and honorable, causes them to attach no importance whatever to newspaper denunciations of real "liars" and "scoundrels." In the third place, it is slanderous and misleading, lowers the public respect for private character, and, though last not least, it corrupts and barbarizes the popular taste. For all these reasons we have not hesitated to denounce Mr. Greeley's method whenever the opportunity presented itself. Mr. Kirk's assumption or insinuation that we consider the concurrence or approval of the majority of our readers a justification for the use of language on other grounds unjustifiable, we must simply repudiate. If we were in the habit of taking the supposed tastes or opinions of the majority of our subscribers as a guide either in the choice of our language or opinions, THE NATION would certainly be a much more popular journal than it is.

Now, we have not called Mr. Carlyle either a "liar" or a "scoundrel." We have not deduced from his opinions any conclusions whatever as to his moral condition, though, if we were to treat him on Mr. Greeley's plan, it would not be by any means difficult to do so. What we have done is to deduce from his published writings certain conclusions as to his mental condition. We have called him "foolish" and "conceited," both of which epithets describe states of mind; and we feel bound to add that we consider them, under all the circumstances, mild epithets. We might have called his opinions absurd—perhaps Mr. Kirk would have found no fault with it; but then "absurd" is a term more commonly applied to opinions which are reached by a process of reasoning of some kind. Of late Mr. Carlyle has not deigned to support

his opinions by any arguments whatever. He simply flings them at our heads and bids us swallow them, donkeys that we are. A person who does this in our day is a "foolish" person. We know of no other way of describing him. That Mr. Carlyle is "conceited" we infer from the style in which he disposes of the greatest social problems of our time. He scorns to treat them even gravely or deliberately, or to argue upon them, and yet he evidently considers it necessary that the world should hear from him about them all, and not as an enquirer, nor yet as a man who, while holding his own convictions strongly and warmly, is yet conscious that there are other thinkers in the world besides himself who are, at least, worth the trouble of confuting. If ever a writer displayed "conceit," Mr. Carlyle displayed it most offensively in his famous "Ilias in Nuce," to which he treated the world during the late war. If he had been an inspired prophet, decency would have forbidden his disposing of so tremendous a question as that which, in this wretched *jeu d'esprit*, he solved to his own satisfaction with such contemptuous levity.

But, it may be asked, are we not bound, in consideration of Mr. Carlyle's past services to humanity and free thought, to treat him, even in the midst of what we consider his later aberrations, with deference or respect? We think not; because we believe that he is now using the influence he acquired in his earlier and better days to propagate opinions and justify practices which we consider to be immoral and barbarizing, and the triumph of which would, in our opinion, be fatal to everything which makes this world worth living in. That he has still great influence we infer from the respect with which what we are forced by the very constitution of our mind, whether correctly or incorrectly, to call his rant is received, the extent to which it is quoted and wept over by his worshippers, and the readiness of men like Mr. Kirk to rush into the field in his defence or justification. Mr. Carlyle has for many years back acted as the apostle of brute force. He has employed all the weight of authority which he acquired by such compositions as "Sartor Resartus" and "Past and Present" in defence of the absolute subjection of everybody and everything to the strong hand. He has labored with all his resources to convert the civilized world to the belief that the exercise of power furnishes its own justification, that the sole duty of weakness is to submit, and that the only true civilizers and elevators of mankind are the sword and the whip, and that anybody who maintains that the helpless have rights is a knave or a fool. Nobody can have watched the course of opinion in England and America during the last ten years without seeing that he has been instrumental in converting large numbers of influential men into what we cannot help calling enemies of the human race. He furnished the pro-slavery school of philosophers at the South with most of the ammunition with which they for years bombarded "free society"—with the arguments by which they sought to show that slavery is the divinely ordained condition of the laborer. Nor were his disciples confined to the South. They swarm at this moment in the choicest circles of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

In England his influence has been still more marked and malefic. He helped not only to extinguish the generous enthusiasm for human rights which crowned the labors of Clarkson and Wilberforce with rejoicing, but to supply the new commercial school, which holds that the chief end of men is to furnish profits for capital, with a philosophical disguise for their unscrupulous greed. The results of his work were fully revealed when the war broke out here. We say deliberately that, for the almost devilish outburst of sympathy with the Confederacy which was witnessed in the middle and upper classes in England during the first years of the war—sympathy which no crimes or atrocities and no avowals of iniquitous intentions seemed sufficient to check—Mr. Carlyle more than any one man is responsible. The success of the North silenced and cowed that party as far as this country is concerned. But it did not loosen a single article in their creed. How well grounded they are in their prophet's doctrines was shown after the disturbances in Jamaica. When Governor Eyre came home red-handed from slaughter and outrage which a Roman proconsul would have blushed to own, which shocked and amazed all that is most Christian and most intelligent in English society, Thomas Carlyle's voice was one of the first to welcome, console, and justify him. Hardly a man sat down at the shameful feast given him at Southampton who would not and did not defend him in Mr. Carlyle's language.

We honestly confess that, right or wrong, we believe it would have been better for the world and for himself if Mr. Carlyle never had written a line, than that he should write as he is writing now. We flatter ourselves that, as there was much noble thinking done before he was born, there would have been enough noble thinking to carry humanity on to its goal if Mr. Carlyle had never appeared. Providence has not left the race dependent on any one teacher; and Providence could hardly have furnished a better illus-

tration of the danger of pinning our faith on any teacher, however wise or illustrious, than by permitting Thomas Carlyle to become in his old age the apostle of violence, the despiser and reviler of those whom God has left dependent for their happiness and security on the justice and humanity of their more richly gifted fellows. When Socrates and Plato made their appearance at Athens, they found the Greek mind firmly wedded to the belief that injustice was an evil only to the victims of injustice, that to the workers of injustice it was no evil at all. The first and noblest triumph of the new philosophy, that which brought it nearest to Christianity, was the uprooting of this error. After twenty-five hundred years, however, we find the doctrine revived and amplified in England, and are actually called upon in America to reverence the man who has resuscitated it and is glorifying it. Mr. Carlyle holds that both the tyrant and his victim are the better of tyranny.

We do not know what the fate of democracy will be here or elsewhere. If it does not succeed in supplying better government than the world has got from Mr. Carlyle's heroes, during the last fifteen hundred years, we sincerely hope it may perish utterly. We care very little for forms of government. The end of all government is the perfection of the individual man, and it is because we see in democracy with all its shortcomings and corruptions a far better promise of human development than the Charleses, Napoleons, or the Fredericks or the Rob Roys or the Eyres have ever held out, that we are willing to labor and wait for its success. In the meantime we have the consolation of knowing that the world can hardly be worse governed in the future than it has been in the past.

Correspondence.

CURRENCY CONTRACTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

An interesting article on the contraction of the currency, in the last number of THE NATION, raises a question whether we have been correct in attributing the inflation of prices and other "financial irregularities" to the existence of an excessive amount of paper money, and whether we should be certain to reach what we desire by the proposed diminution in the volume of what is commonly termed currency.

There are some who believe as Mr. Webster did, when he said in one of his speeches that "the currency consists of all those things with which we effect our commercial transactions," and that, practically, legal tenders and bank-notes make but a small portion of the whole mass of paper and credits which are used as the title to, and representatives of, the merchandise which we are engaged in exchanging.

Cashiers' checks, and all others, as well as drafts and bills of exchange, appear to be currency as much as bank-notes, performing the same offices and being subject to the same laws of trade. It is true that we have attempted by legislation to invest the bank-note with a character different from the check or draft of the cashier. But this difference is rather apparent than real, more in form than substance—one having neither more nor less purchasing or paying power than the other.

It is not by any means clear that our banks could not withdraw all their notes from circulation, sell the Government bonds upon which they are issued, and then use checks for small or large convenient sums as substitutes, precisely as, in spite of the Comptroller's opposition at first, they have had to do already.

It does not appear that Congress or any other power could prevent this, nor that the change could materially affect prices, or bring us any nearer resumption, though we should thus have reduced the volume of what is called currency three hundred millions of dollars.

There is really good reason to consider, as a certain not very large class of writers do, that the currency, taken in its broadest sense, is simply an effect, and not a cause primarily, depending for its volume in some form upon the amount and price of the commodities or merchandise which it is called upon to represent, and not upon legislation. Following out this idea, it is assumed that we are not to expect resumption and a return to lower prices and more stable financial conditions by means of contraction, but that our first step is to decide that all contracts for the payment of money hereafter shall be made by the specie standard, and that all which now exist, payable in currency, shall, when due, be paid in specie funds at such premium as rules at the date of resumption, so that the debtor and creditor shall sustain the same relative position as before, and neither be wronged nor inconvenienced by the change.

It is claimed that this would be simply just to all parties, and entirely satisfy the Western people, who are, from the nature of things, debtors to the East, and thus opposed to any measures which will diminish the price of their commodities, while their liabilities remain as before.

Capitalists here and abroad may naturally desire to enhance the value of their claims upon us, as they would, practically, by resumption and the consequent reduction in prices; but this we cannot afford, and therefore, while we should not attempt to change the terms of any of our obligations, old or new, payable in specie, we have the right to insist that all our currency debts shall be paid at what they are really worth in specie, and not at their nominal amount.

Neither Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Train, nor any other Democrat or demagogue can claim more than this, and it is not easy for an impartial observer to see how the debtors can claim less. They are willing to put the price of all their commodities down to specie prices, and they ask that the price of their liabilities, which are to be paid by sale of these commodities, shall be reduced simultaneously and in the same proportion.

This does not change the real value or purchasing power in either case, but it does enable us to dispose of a certain portion of our inflated prices and currency at the same time, and in a mode which can harm no one who has a proper amount of means to meet his obligations. No one will be called upon to pay specie, for it is not that the creditor wants so long as we offer him other products of labor at specie prices, such as he must pay if we gave him corn instead of paper. All he wants is paper, or currency, which is the title to and representative of merchandise or other property. Let him be assured of this, and he will refuse specie, because if he has that he must lose interest until he exchanges it for something useful, while his paper, if he so desires, will be constantly growing more valuable by the accruing interest which the debtor pays. Let us, then, not fear to return to the specie standard, and thus reduce our prices and the volume of our currency to more reasonable proportions, and at the same time relieve our credit from the stain which has been cast upon it by our continued suspension.

There are those who believe that suspension was not necessary, and they know that, if it was, it was not just to violate the existing contracts by permitting the debtors to cancel their obligations at half price, or less.

Now the case is reversed, and we claim that it would be equally unjust in principle not to guard against the violation of existing contracts payable in our present inflated currency which would result from an immediate return to the specie standard without some provision for the protection of the numerous debtor class, who will sooner or later make themselves heard and felt, unless they are treated justly.

Justice is all we ask for them, and it is all that they can claim. This Congress has the power to ensure in less than a month after the commencement of the next session, and we shall be disappointed if the movements of our Democratic politicians in the West do not convince our members that something must be done soon.

D. W.

Boston, August 26, 1867.

[The plan proposed by "D. W." would in practice be tantamount to repudiation. To declare that on and after a certain date all contracts should be made payable in coin, would be to declare that after that date greenbacks should cease to be a legal tender for all but existing debts. There would then be a prodigious fall in their value, or, as it is more commonly called, a rise in gold. Debtors would pursue their creditors with paper money, and creditors would run away from them. Nobody would take the paper money who could possibly avoid it, and at last, perhaps very soon, it would go out of use, to the ruin or immense loss of all holders of it at the time the law passed. This would certainly be a return to specie payments, but it would also be a swindle; and better greenbacks and honesty than gold and knavery. There is only one honorable and perfectly safe way of returning to specie payments, and that is by enabling the Government either to redeem its promises to pay in coin, or by inspiring general confidence that it will pay them in coin when called upon. One of the most curious chapters in the history of money is the story of the devices by which "financiers" have sought to enable the Government to evade its obligations without doing anybody any harm; but like Mr. Micawber's ingenious mode of discharging his liabilities, however satisfactory to the inventors, none of these devices have answered their purpose. If "D. W." means that the West does not want to pay its debts, let him say so; but do not let us beguile ourselves with the notion that if paper which is now a legal tender were to cease to be a legal tender on and

after a certain date, and no provision were in the meantime made for its redemption, nobody would be cheated, and no injury would be done to the public credit.—ED. NATION.]

CARLYLE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I be permitted to ask whether the language, "foolish and conceited old man," applied to Mr. Carlyle in yesterday's NATION, conforms with the standard of taste set up by your journal in distinction from most others, and generally—as it is a pleasure to acknowledge—adhered to by its writers?

In treating Carlyle's denunciations of democracy as pure "rigmarole," you of course express the opinion of the great majority of your readers; and Mr. Greeley has, no doubt, the same excuse when he calls his opponents "liars." But even among ardent believers in democratic progress there must be some who owe to the author of "Past and Present" and of "Sartor

Resartus" no small portion of that intellectual stimulant which has enabled them to exercise the liberty of thinking for themselves—of all kinds of liberty the most precious and the most secure, though the least valued and the least practised. Such persons, however they may differ from him in opinion, can hardly be pleased at seeing a man whom they have learned to revere described in terms which could not be used without impropriety in any theoretical discussion. I have not had an opportunity of reading the paper on which you have commented. Its author's views are familiar to me; and I have sometimes taken the freedom—more readily accorded by men of his temperament than by many of a suaver utterance—to combat them in conversation. That was, however, several years ago. Since then a constant perusal of THE NATION—of its frequent and elaborate exposures of the corruptions with which our political system is encrusted—has done much to induce a conviction that unless democracy, as established in America, undergoes some early and great modification, it must end where all demoralized systems have hitherto ended—in convulsion and overthrow.

With much respect, your obedient servant,

J. F. KIRK.

DORCHESTER, Mass., Aug. 30, 1867.

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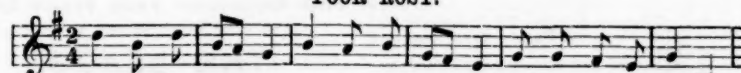
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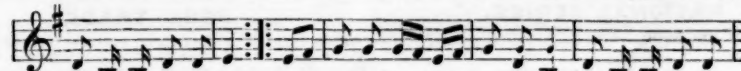
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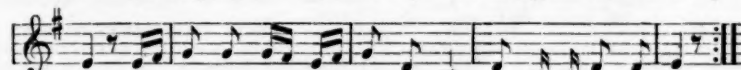
POOR ROSY.



1. Poor Ro - sy, poor gal; poor Ro - sy, poor gal; Ro - sy break my poor heart;



Heaven shall-a be my home. I can-not stay in hell one day, Heaven shall-a be my



home, I'll sing and pray my soul a-way, Heaven shall-a be my home.

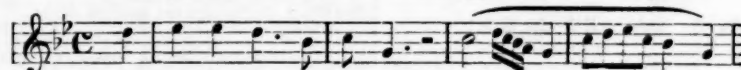
1 * Poor Rosy, poor gal; poor Rosy, poor gal;
Rosy break my poor heart,
Heaven shall-a be my home.

2 Got hard trial on my way, (*ter*),
Heaven shall-a be my home.

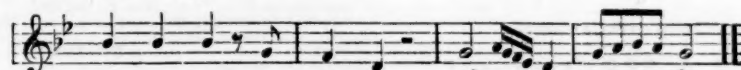
[The remaining verses are omitted here, for want of room.]

* Poor Caesar, poor boy.

I'M GWINE TO ALABAMY. (Mississippi River Boat Song.)



1. I'm gwine to A - la - ba - my, Oh.....



For to see my mam - my, Ah.....

- 1 I'm gwine to Alabamy,—Oh-h-h.
For to see my mammy,—Ah-h-h.
- 2 She went from Ole Virginny,—Oh.
And I'm her pickaninny,—Ah.
- 3 She lives on the Tombigbee,—Oh.
I wish I had her wid me,—Ah.
- 4 Now I'm a good big nigger,—Oh.
Reckon I won't be bigger,—Ah.
- 5 But I'd like to see my mammy,—Oh.
Who lives in Alabamy,—Ah.

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A dividend of Twenty per cent. is declared on the net earned premiums of the Company for the year ending 31st December, 1866, for which certificates will be issued on and after Tuesday, the Second of April next.

By order of the Board. J. H. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

TRUSTEES.

John D. Jones,	William E. Dodge,
Cornelius Grinnell,	Charles Dennis,
Geo. G. Hobson,	C. A. Hand,
W. H. H. Moore,	David Lane,
B. J. Howland,	Henry Colt,
James Bryce,	Benj. Babcock,
Wm. C. Pickersgill,	Francis Skiddy,
Fletcher Westray,	Lewis Curtis,
Daniel S. Miller,	Robt. B. Minturn, Jr.,
Charles H. Russell,	Wm. Sturgis,
Gordon W. Burnham,	Lowell Holbrook,
Henry K. Bogert,	Frederick Chauncey,
R. Warren Weston,	Joshua J. Henry,
James Low,	Royal Phelps,
Dennis Perkins,	George S. Stephenson,
Calch Bristow,	Joseph Gaillard, Jr.,
William H. Webb,	A. P. Pilot,
J. Henry Burgis,	Sheppard Gandy,
Paul Spofford,	Robert L. Taylor,
Charles P. Burdett,	

JOHN D. JONES, President.
 CHARLES DENNIS, Vice-President.
 W. H. H. MOORE, 2d Vice-Pres't.

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AND
LETTERS OF CREDIT,
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Island; R. S. Fields, Princeton, N. J.
41 Barristers' Hall, Boston, Mass.

Olmsted, Vaux & Co.,
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS.
The undersigned have associated under the above title
for the business of advising on all matters of location,
and of furnishing Designs and Superintendence for Build-
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Works, including the Laying-out of Towns, Villages,
Parks, Cemeteries, and Gardens.
FRED. LAW OLMSTED,
CALVERT VAUX,
FRED'K C. WITHERS.
110 Broadway,
New York, January 1, 1866.

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UNION MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

Assets, - - - - - \$2,188,429 20

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J. W. & H. JUDD, General Agents for New York.

Active and efficient Agents wanted in all the Cities and large Towns in the healthy portions of the United States and British Provinces. To such, a liberal commission will be paid.

LIST OF LOSSES PAID ON MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED DURING THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1866.

AGE.	NAME.	RESIDENCE.	OCCUPATION.	AMOUNT INSURED.
39	Joseph A. Southard,	Richmond, Me.,	Ship Master,	\$2,000
22	Evander O. Tozier,	Boston, Mass.,	Tailor,	2,150
35	Chas. S. Stephenson,	New York, N. Y.,	Ship Broker,	2,000
25	John A. Curtis,	New York, N. Y.,	Auctioneer,	5,000
37	John A. Curtis,	New York, N. Y.,	Auctioneer,	2,500
36	Thomas J. Willard,	Portland, Me.,	Master Mariner,	3,000
23	Edwin H. Rand,	Charlestown, Mass.,	Clerk,	2,000
40	Thomas S. Foster,	Gardiner, Me.,	Merchant Tailor,	2,000
24	Eden P. Foster,	Jackson, Mich.,	Jeweller,	2,100
34	Calvin M. Burbank,	Lawrence, Mass.,	Clerk,	2,000
51	John W. Crafts,	South Boston, Mass.,	Provision Dealer,	10,000
33	Samuel W. Bliss,	Boston, Mass.,	Fruit Dealer,	2,000
35	Richard Turtle,	Chicago, Ill.,	Provision Merchant,	2,000
47	Francis Winter,	New York, N. Y.,	Lock Manufacturer,	3,000
31	D. B. Cunningham,	New York, N. Y.,	Merchant,	3,000
41	Robert N. Corning,	Concord, N. H.,	Railroad Contractor,	2,000
57	Saml. M. Candler,	Brooklyn, N. Y.,	Custom House Clerk,	2,500
40	Charles Line,	Ashland, Pa.,	Druggist,	3,000
27	Francis Fischer,	Louisville, Ky.,	Hatter,	5,000
26	Zeno Kelly,	West Barnstable, Mass.,	Master Mariner,	1,500
43	Julius Heimann,	New York, N. Y.,	Carriage Maker,	2,000
49	George Draper,	New York, N. Y.,	Clothing Merchant,	2,000
26	Philander M. Chase,	Charlestown, Mass.,	Milkman,	2,000
43	Henry Fleischback,	Carlinville, Ill.,	Merchant,	3,000
22	A. C. Sutherland,	Detroit, Mich.,	Book-keeper,	1,800
30	Charles E. Poole,	Pittston, Pa.,	Coal Agent,	2,500
39	Emanuel W. Mace,	Chicago, Ill.,	Cigar Manufacturer,	2,000
37	Robert Clough,	Chicago, Ill.,	Stone Cutter,	2,000
30	Ellen Clough,	Chicago, Ill.,	Wife,	2,000
35	Robert H. Howe,	St. Louis, Mo.,	Agent,	5,000
19	George H. Dunlap,	Brunswick, Me.,	Gentleman,	10,000
49	Thomas W. Bams,	Boston, Mass.,	Merchant,	5,000
38	Isaac H. Brown,	Troy, N. Y.,	Druggist,	1,500
27	Zelotes W. Knowles,	Addison, Me.,	Master Mariner,	3,000
62	Lewis Wm. H. Giese,	Baltimore, Md.,	Merchant,	4,000
30	Eliakim W. Ford,	Albany, N. Y.,	Merchant,	3,000

STEPHEN CROWELL, Pres't. EDGAR W. CROWELL,
Vice-Pres't. PHILANDER SHAW, Sec'y.

Phenix Insurance Company,

OFFICES: 139 BROADWAY, N. Y.
1 COURT ST., Brooklyn.

Cash Capital.....\$1,000,000 00
Assets, Dec. 1, 1866.....\$1,635,932 69

Ensures against Loss by Marine and Fire. Also, Lake,
Canal, and Inland Transportation.

CHAUNCEY BEDELL, Manager Marine Dep't.

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Stephen Crowell,	Jeremiah V. Spader,
A. V. Stout,	Edward E. Low,
J. D. Ingersoll,	Samuel W. Burtis,
Henry Collins,	Daniel F. Fernald,
John M. Hicks,	Nathaniel Putnam,
I. H. Frothingham,	John C. Cole,
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William M. Vail,	

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FIRE INSURANCE CO.
OFFICE, 13 WALL STREET.

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In other companies, tendencies to longevity insure wholly to the advantage of the short-lived class—in this, solely to the benefit of those who possess such tendencies.

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Why, then, should the long-lived pay large, when entitled to smaller premiums?

Why should they receive small, when entitled to larger returns of surplus?

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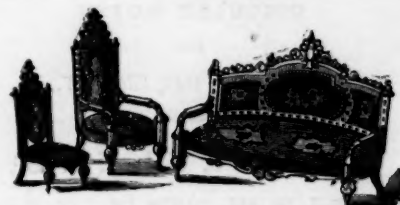
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